PUNJAB
DISTRICT GAZETTEERS
MULTAN DISTRICT
With Maps
Vol VII—A
1923-24

PUNJAB DISTRICT GAZETTEERS

VOLUME VII

PART A

MULTAN DISTRICT

1923-24

COMPILED AND PUBLISHED UNDER THE AUTHORITY
OF THE PUNJAB GOVERNMENT

Lahore:
Printed by the Superintendent, Government Printing, Punjab.
1926.

Price Rs.

Revised List of Agents for the sale of Punjab Government Publications.

ON THE CONTINENT AND UNITED KINGDOM.

Publications obtainable either direct from the High Commissioner for India, 42, Grosvenor Gardens, London, S. W. 1, or through any Bookseller.

IN INDIA.

MANAGER, Civil and Military Gazette Press, Lahore.

RAI SAHIB M. GULAB SINGH & SONS, Mufid-i-'Am Press, Lahore.

RAMA KRISHNA & SONS, Booksellers and News Agents, Anarkali Street, Lahore.

MANAGER, Punjab Law Book Depôt, Anarkali Street, Lahore.

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PREFACE.

THE literary excellence and the interest and scope of the Gazetteer, compiled and written by Sir Edward Maclagan, imposed on the present editor the obvious duty of leaving as much as possible of it untouched. The present edition is, therefore, mainly a reproduction of Sir Edward Maclagan's work with such additions and changes as were necessary to bring it up to date.

The compiler acknowledges his obligation to all who have assisted in the compilation; and in particular he thanks Mr. H. Fyson, I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner, Multan; Mr. H. Calvert, C.I.E., I.C.S., Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Punjab; R. S. Pt. Nand Lal, late Extra Assistant Settlement Officer, Multan; L. Ram Nath Keshap, of the Forest Department; R. B. Prabh Dyal of Multan; Radha Krishna Seth, M.A., of Multan; and Dost Mohammad, Kanungo, Multan.

Reprinted at :
Evergreen Press, 4, Chamberlain Road, Lahore
1983

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CHAPTER I.

DESCRIPTIVE

SECTION A.—PHYSICAL ASPECTS.

(a) Name.

The original form of the name of the district is difficult to discover. Hiuen Tsang, who was in the city in 741 A. D., calls it 'Mu-lo-san-pu-lu', which is said to be a transliteration of 'Mulasthanapura'. Albiruni, writing in the beginning of the 11th century, quotes a Kashmírián author, who calls the town, apparently, Mula-tána; and Munshi Hukm Chand, in his vernacular history, says that an early name of the town was Mula-trang or Mulatarán. In present conventional Sanskrit usage both Mula-trána and Mulaisthána seem to be used.

(b) Boundaries, areas and general configuration.

The Multán District lies between north latitude 29° 22′ and 30° 45′, and east longitude 71° 4′ and 72° 55′. It is bounded on the east, north and west by the districts of Montgomery, Jhang and Muzaffargarh, respectively, and on the south by the State of Baháwalpur. Roughly speaking, the Sutlej separates it from Baháwalpur, and the Chenáb from Muzaffargarh, but in the case of Jhang and Montgomery the boundary is an artificial one. To the west, the deep stream of the Chenáb formed an ever-varying boundary until the year 1893, when it was laid down that specified villages should always remain portions of the Multán and Muzaffargarh Districts, respectively, whether they were on the right or the left bank of the river. The district as now constituted forms a rough triangle having as its basis the Montgomery line, and its apex the point of junction of the Chenáb and Sutlej. The length of the base is about 60 miles; that of the Chenáb line 100 miles as the crow flies and that of the Sutlej some 20 or 30 miles longer. The total area of the district is 5,719 square miles. Physically, the three natural divisions of the district are the riverain or *Hithár*, the high barren areas or *Ráwa*, and the lands intermediate between these known as the *Utár*. The distinctive features of the riverain are the high water level and the influence, direct or indirect, of river floods. The outstanding feature of the *Ráwa* is the low water level. If we except these characteristics, the distinctions between the three divisions depend on the presence or absence of canal water. Differences of soil are negligible, and the varying surface level will cease to be of primary importance when the inundation system of canal disappears. Were the facilities for irrigation equal in all parts of the tract, the uniformity of physical conditions would be remarkable for such a large area.

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Boundaries, areas and general configuration.

The typically riverain area is relatively small. On the Rávi, direct inundations are rare and the value of zamíndári cuts from the river has declined. On the Sutlej, there are few creeks and the configuration of the country restricts the influence of floods, except in years when the river is unusually high. The Chenáb carries larger floods than either of the above rivers and, owing to the presence of natural creeks and artificial channels, their influence extends over a large area, especially in the Shujábád tahsíl where parts of the country some miles away from the main stream are flooded in years of heavy rainfall. The effect of these inundations is generally beneficial, but to the north of the Shujábád tahsíl and along the greater part of the riverain boundary of the Multán tahsíl, *bunds* are necessary to protect the adjacent canal-irrigated lands from excessive damage. Cultivation in the riverain depends on the nature of the floods and varies from year to year and in the same year from village to village. For villages with a low bank near the river, a light flood season is most beneficial, but other estates prefer heavy inundations of short duration, so that a little kharif may be harvested and a large area sown for the rabi. The deposits of the three rivers possess very different qualities. The "golden" silt of the Rávi is the best of all; that of the Sutlej often does as much harm as good, while that of the Chenáb is generally of benefit, though markedly inferior to that of the Rávi.

The portion of the *Ráwa* outside the limits of canal irrigation consists of desolate stretches of waste broken here and there by a well or a cluster of wells. *Baráni* cultivation is rare except in parts of the Mailsi *Ráwa* and the cropping is generally confined to a little fodder in the kharif and a few acres of wheat and turnips in the rabi. Tenants are difficult to obtain and the well areas are mostly cultivated by owners who attach more importance to their cattle than their crops.

(c) The rivers.

The whole of the tract is an alluvial plain sloping gently from the north-east to the south-west, with a slight slope also from the north-west to the south-east. It is all of comparatively, and much of it of very, recent formation. The past physical history of the district is in fact the history of the rivers, which have made up the formation: and an exceedingly difficult history it is to unravel.*

The Ravi.

The Rávi would seem to have had three different courses within historical times. The earliest was in a straight line from Tulamba, that is, from shortly below the point of its

* Some attempts have been made in Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 221-2, in Major Raverty's article on 'The Mihran of Sind and its Tributaries' (J. A. S. B., 1893, vol. lxi.), and in Surgeon-Major Oldham's article on the 'Lost River of the Indian Desert' in the *Calcutta Review*, July 1874.

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entering the district, to the city of Multán. This route is indicated by a slight difference in the level of the land along a certain part of the tract of country lying immediately south of Tulamba and by some marked depressions in the country round Rashida and Tatipur. The next course adopted by the stream entailed the abandonment of its bed south of Tulamba for the extraordinary reach known as the Sidhnai (*i.e.*, the straight river), which is a perfectly straight cutting some ten or twelve miles in length from a little west of Tulamba to a little east of Sarai Siddhu. The origin of this wonderful reach is wrapt in mystery. The Hindús, who have a temple to Síta at Kachlamba at the head of the reach, and two to Rám Chandar and Lachman at Rám Chauntra and Lachman Chauntra at the tail, tell the story that Ráma and Lachman were bathing here, and having no one to watch their clothes, commanded the river to run straight on, which it did. Other variations of the legend explain that Síta was bathing at Kachlamba, and that the river straightened out to enable the brothers to see her from Rám Chauntra; or that some beautiful goddess (name unknown), who was bathing in the river, was pursued by the River-god, who, as she hid behind successive corners, straightened them out to obtain a view of her. The Muhammadans also have their own stories to tell. Some say that the Sidhnai reach was excavated by a Muhammadan king, whose name is no longer remembered. Others tell how, when Dára Shikoh was being pursued by Aurangzeb, one of his followers, to whom he entrusted his crown, threw it into the Rávi to prevent its falling into the hands of his pursuers, and how Aurangzeb, in order to recover the crown, diverted the Rávi by the Sidhnai reach into the Chenáb. From sober history we obtain as little aid as from these versatile fictions, for in no historical or geographical work does any clear indication appear to be given, either of the origin of this reach or of the date of its formation. Against the theory that the reach was artificially made, are the width of the bed and the absence of all traces of excavation: on the other hand, it is equally difficult to imagine the river cutting for itself a perfectly straight channel through the highest and hardest land in the neighbourhood. From whatever origin it has sprung, the reach as it now stands, presents in flood time a most imposing and beautiful spectacle, probably not to be surpassed on any of the rivers of the Punjab plains; either side being overhung with a rich growth of graceful trees, among which the date-palm is the most plentiful and prominent.* From the lower

* Mason, who travelled along the reach about the year 1827, says; 'The margins of the stream are fringed with groves of date-trees in which numerous wells are found, shaded by *pipals*. The opposite bank being embellished in like manner, the scenery up and down the river is fine and attractive.' (Travels i. 401).

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end of this striking reach the river used in former times to bend its course southwards, joining the older bed about Rashída, and passing on like the older river, to the neighbourhood of Multán. This course of the river lay almost through the centre of the area now irrigated by the Sidhnai canal; and in many of the Sidhnai villages the depressions which it has left are still spoken of as 'rávís'. From the banks of the river as it so ran were taken off a large number of canals and water-courses, the remains of which (known as *árás*), are still prominent in the neighbourhood of Makhdúm Rashíd, Kádirpur Ran and other Sidhnai villages, but are slowly disappearing before the mattock of the cultivator. The presence of the Rávi at Multán is attested as early as A.D. 712, when the city was taken by Muhammad Bin Kásim; and though tradition states that when the Gardezis settled in Multán at the end of the 11th century the river had left the city, we find that in Tamerlane's time the Rávi joined the Chenáb below Multán. In 1502 A.D. we hear of the Rávi being adopted as the boundary between the Lodi and Langáh dominions, and of its being then only 20 miles from Shorkot* ; a fact which would seem to indicate the existence of the Sidhnai reach, and possibly also the junction of the Rávi with the Chenáb (as at present) shortly below the reach. The statement of Abul Fazal,† that the Rávi and Chenáb at the end of the sixteenth century joined at Zafarpur (a place no longer identifiable), 27 *kos* from the confluence of the Chenáb and Jhelum, and 60 *kos* from that of the Chenáb and Indus, has been held to show that the Rávi and Chenáb then joined in much the same neighbourhood as at present; and this is not inconsistent with the other indications of the Ain, so far as these can be followed. In the days of Aurangzeb, however, there is no doubt that the Rávi again ran past Multán: for we hear of the Emperor's camp being pitched in A.D. 1658 at Multán within 3 miles of the place where the Chenáb and Rávi met‡; and the revenue village or *mahal* of Multán was divided in this same period into portions called '*tarafs*,' of which one, on the south-east of the city, retains the name of Taraf Rávi to this day. And writing as late as the end of the 18th century, the geographer Bernoulli§ (depending, it is true, on sources of information which may have been somewhat out of date) remarks that the right bank of the Rávi was 2 or 3 miles from Multán, and that a branch of that river, known as the Monan, ran within a mile of the city. Even in comparatively recent years previous to the intervention of the Sidh-

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* Ferishta iv. 393-5. Tab. Akb. Ell. v. 469.
†Ain ii. 326 (Jarrett's Translation).
‡ Alamgírnama, pp. 200, *seq.*
§ Desc. Ind. i. 116.

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The Ravi.

nai cultivation, it was not unusual in flood time for a spill to pass from the Rávi down the old bed as far as the suburbs of the city; but as to the date on which the river finally diverted its course, so as to join with the Chenáb, as now, in the neighbourhood of Chauki Múhan,* it is impossible to make any statement. Indeed, it is very likely that the course of this river has undergone several marked alterations in either direction during historical times, and it is impossible to be sure without definite information as to the position which it occupied at any particular date.

The volume of water in the Rávi during the winter months has much decreased owing to the supplies taken off by the Bári Doáb canals, and for the greater part of the cold weather its bed in this district is absolutely dry. When there is water in the river the whole of this is rendered available for irrigation by the dam at the head of the Sidhnai canal; and the irrigation, owing to the rich quality of the silt in suspension, is of an excellent character. The river above the Sidhnai reach has of late years been straightening itself out, and has thus deprived many villages of the inundations on which they used to depend; while, at the same time, it has shown a marked tendency to scour its bed and thus reduce the surface level of the water. Although, therefore, in many ways the most interesting of the rivers of the district, the Rávi is also the most uncertain and the most disappointing.

The Chenáb.

The Chenáb,† on the other hand (or rather the united Jhelum and Chenáb) is, where it flows through this district, an imposing river, never dry, and never even fordable except in remarkably dry winters. It is not unlikely that the Chenáb originally flowed in a course some miles to the east of its present bed, passing, in fact, the same route as that above described as having at one time (*viz.*, after being abandoned by the Chenáb) occupied by the Rávi between Sarai Siddhu and Rashída. While the Chenáb was in this bed, both Shorkot and Multán lay to the west of the river; and it is held by some authorities‡ that Multán lay to the west of the Chenáb as late as A.D. 1245, when the country was attacked by the Moghal Manguta. The river, however, flowed to the west of the city (as it now does) in the days of Albiruni, that is to say, in the 11th century, and it was also to the west of the city at the time of Tamerlane's invasion and at the time of the writing of the Ain-i-Akbari; and it is probable that Multán has lain east of the Chenáb for at least five centuries, if not longer. As it now runs, the river has no very marked high bank, and the difference be-

*This village derives its name from the fact of its being at the mouth of the Rávi.

†Locally pronounced Chanha.

‡See Raverty (J A. S. B., 1892, pp. 157, 159 and 165).

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The Chenáb.

tween the average level in January and the level of the highest floods is stated to be 13 feet. The damage which used to be done in years of excessive flood, such as 1893 and 1894, was very serious, the inundation at one time threatening even the safety of Multán itself; but steps have since been taken by a series of embankments, extending from Khatti-Chor in the Kabírwála tahsíl to Dhundhun south of Shujábád, to protect the country from the possibility of such inundations in future. The Chenáb water, though less fertilizing than that of the Rávi, is more so than that of the Sutlej; and the people in the south-west of the district, whose lands receive water from both rivers, mark the difference by calling the Sutlej *nar* or male, and the Chenáb *máda* or female. The stream is navigable throughout by country boats, and steamers used to ply upon it as far as Bandarghat until the breaking up of the flotilla some 45 years ago.

The Biás.

The Biás, which is known locally as the Viyáh, flowed, until comparatively recent times, in a bed, still very well marked, through the centre of the district from the neighbourhood of Pakhi Mián on the east to that of Theh Kalán on the west. Although this bed is very small and narrow, the basin of the river in flood was fairly large, if we may judge from the remains of the right high bank, which are well marked along a great part of the course of the stream, running parallel to the old channel at a distance of several miles. On the left or southern side the old Biás has no high bank. The Biás was running in its old bed at the time of Tamerlane's invasion, and the country which it watered is described as full of supplies and prosperous towns. The river was also in its old bed in the days of the Ain-i-Akbari, and the pargana of Khai, which depended on this river for its prosperity, is described by popular rumour as a tract which yielded the traditional 'nine lakhs' of revenue. There are still remains of several canal cuts taking out from the Biás, both in the neighbourhood of Khai (near Mitru) and elsewhere; and these old canal cuts are still known to the people by their original names (Shekhwah, Lodanwah, Kálúwah, Gauharwah, etc.), though they have been out of use for many years. There is a story that the Biás deserted its original course because certain boatmen refused to carry a *fakir* across the stream, thereby entailing the curse of the *fakir* on everything concerned with the contretemps. As to the date at which the river left its bed to join, as it now does, with the Sutlej near Hari ka Pattan in the Lahore District, local accounts are very vague. People generally say that the event occurred some 225 years ago, and there are said to be some historical evidences of this. On the other hand, the stream is shown as flowing in its present course in Rennell's map of Hindustán, dated 1788, and there

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(c) The Rivers.
The Bias

was a very old man living in 1889 who is said to have remembered the drying up of the stream in his youth.* The ordinarily accepted date for the change appears to be A.D. 1790 or 1796,† but it is possible that the process of change was only gradual.

The Sutlej.

The remaining river of the district is the Sutlej. The river is sometimes spoken of, especially in the upper part of its course, as the Níli, but the ordinary name for it is the Ghára; Satlaj or Sattluj being the '*sirkári nám*' employed in talking to officials only. This river, like the rest, has changed its course within historical times, but our information regarding its vagaries is somewhat uncertain. It is believed by some‡ that the Sutlej originally joined with a river known as the Hakra, but now lost, which used to flow through the Baháwalpur State at a distance of some 40 miles south of the present channel of the Sutlej. Abul Fazl's description of the Sutlej and Bias is not very intelligible,§ but from the account given by him of the Suba of Multán, it is clear that the Sutlej in the time of Akbar ran in a bed not materially different from that which it now occupies. The river bed is narrower and more sharply defined than that of the Chenáb, and the depth of water during the cold weather seldom exceeds 12 feet, rising in flood to 18 feet. The river is in several places fordable in dry winters; and the difference between the average level in January and the level of the highest floods is only 9 feet, as compared with 13 feet on the Chenáb. The northern bank of the river is, moreover, far better defined than that of the Chenáb, and in ordinary years presents a sufficient barrier to the flooding beyond it. Near the confluence of the two rivers the intervening land is regularly flooded during the summer, but the floods come almost entirely from the Chenáb, the Sutlej, as a rule, only inundating the area below the high bank. As compared with the Chenáb, the Sutlej is very capricious in its inundations, and the area flooded varies very much from year to year. The stream is navigable throughout by country boats, and in the days of steam navigation steamers occasionally went up as far as Ferozepore.

(d) Geology, Botany and Fauna.

The soil of the district is of an alluvial character, and sand is everywhere met at a short distance below the surface. The geology of the district has, however, been subjected to

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* *See* Raverty (J. A. S. B., 1893, p. 179); *see* also *Calcutta Review*, 1875, p. 337.

† *See* Dr. Oldham in *Calcutta Review*, July 1874, and Cunningham's *Ancient Geography*, p. 222.

‡ *See* Dr. Oldham's article referred to. This view is strongly opposed in another article by 'Nearchus' in *Calcutta Review*, 1875, p. 323, *seq*.

§ *See* Ain (Jarrett), ii. 326.

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(d) Geology, Botany and Fauna

very little detailed enquiry; and readers are referred to the sketch of the geology of the Punjab as a whole, which was prepared by Mr. Medlicott, late Superintendent of the Geological Survey of India, and which has been published *in extenso* in the provincial volume of the Gazetteer series, and also as a separate pamphlet.

Trees.

The principal trees of the district are the Jand (*Prosopis spicigera*), Karril (*Capparis aphylla*), Farásh (*Tamarix articulata*), Van (*Salvadora oleoides*), Kikar (*Acacia arbica*), Sisham (*Dalbergia sissoo*), Ber (*Zizyphus jujuba*), Tut (*Morus alba*), Sirin (*Albizzia Lebbek*), Bohar (*Ficus indica*), Pipal (*Ficus religiosa*), Khajji (*Phœnix dactylifera*), Bhan (*Populus euphratica*), Amb (*Mangifera indica*), and the Ním (*Melia indica*). The first four are found all over the *bár*, and are in fact the only trees that flourish in the dry arid tracts of the district. The others prefer a fairly moist soil, and (with the exception of the last two) are met with on *sailába* and irrigated lands, along canal cuts, and in depressions that are subjected to periodical inundations; while the two last named are generally found in gardens.

The *kikar* is the most useful of these to the agriculturist. He roofs his house with its wood. His Persian water-lifts, carts and agricultural implements are generally made from it. The bark supplies him with tannin, and the leaves, twigs, and seed-pods with fodder; while the thorny branches are used for fencing in his fields and making sheep-pens, &c.

Next in point of importance is probably the *jand*, which, together with the *farásh*, *karril* and *van*, keep the local markets supplied with fuel. These four are the principal forest trees in the district. They are capable of withstanding long seasons of drought, and when properly cut, coppice freely. Camels, goats and sheep are very fond of their foliage, and when grass is scarce kine even browse off the plants with apparent relish. The tender seed-pods of the *jand* are made into a sort of spinach, and are eaten by the people; and in times of famine even the ripe dry pods are used. On such occasions the seeds are removed from the pod, and the outer covering (which contains a soft fluffy substance) is ground into flour, and after being mixed with a little *átá* is baked into cakes. The wood burns well, and is without doubt the best wood fuel that can be produced in the district. *Farásh* and *karril* also burn well.

Farásh and *karril* or *karinh* are also used for building purposes. The wood of the latter much resembles the box, and is not attacked by insects. The flower and fruit of the *karril* are eaten by both man and beast—the unripe fruit being considered a great delicacy when prepared in the form

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Trees.

of a pickle. A dye is obtained from the *farásh* galls, which are collected and sold in the *bazárs*.

The *ván* is an evergreen shady tree, the fruit of which is largely eaten by all classes of natives. During the months of May and June, when the fruit ripens, most of the poorer people leave their homes and move on to the *ván* growing localities, where they remain for weeks, living almost exclusively on the fruit. Cattle are also very fond of the fruit, and so also are hares and deer. The dried fruit somewhat resembles the currant, both in form and flavour, and in good fruiting seasons large quantities of the fruit are preserved in a dry state for future use. The wood, which is rather soft and light, is not very good for either building or fuelling purposes, though it is used for both. It keeps pretty free from the attacks of insects, and when burnt smoulders away without producing much of a flame, and leaves a large quantity of ash, which when boiled in water forms a decoction that is used for killing mange and removing hair from mangy camels. The decoction has a wonderful effect in instantaneously removing hair, one application being enough to clean shave a beast in a few minutes.

The *shisham* is a well-known tree. It is valued for its wood, which is extensively used for all articles of furniture, cart and coach building, and all articles of wood-work that require strength and elasticity.

The *ber* under favourable conditions is a fast growing tree. It attains maturity in a few years, and bears the wild plum, which is much liked by natives. The wood is close grained and tough, and is used for well curbs, light rafters, door planks and charcoal making. The twigs and leaves are eaten by camels and goats, and the branches are used for making fences.

The *tút* or mulberry-tree begins to bear fruit at a very early age. It is found near wells and watercuts, and is grown as much for its shade as for its fruit and fodder. Its wood (which is very elastic) is used for axe and hoe handles, cot legs and other petty articles. Baskets are made from its twigs, and the leaves are used for fodder; the fruit being also eaten.

The *sirin* or *shavinh* is a tree that requires a little care. It grows rapidly during its infancy, but being thornless and weedy at that stage of its growth, requires more protection than the trees already described. It is grown chiefly for its shade, but its wood (which is of a dark reddish brown colour, and rather prettily marked) is used for oil pestles and mortars, posts, door *chaukhats*, and thick planks, &c.

The *bohar* and *pipal* are cultivated principally for their shade. Both trees are held in reverence by the Hindús.

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Trees.

The wood is of very little use except for burning. The leaves are eaten by cattle; and the milky juice makes splendid birdlime. Charcoal made from the *pipal* is very inflammable, and in the absence of better sorts of charcoal may with advantage be used in the manufacture of gunpowder. The bark yields a reddish brown dye, and the fresh milk of the *bohar* is advantageously used for removing films from the eye.

The *khajji* or Indian date-palm is well-known to those who have been to Multán. It is grown chiefly for its fruit, large quantities of which are eaten and collected for export. It is a source of some revenue to the people, who look after the tree while it is in fruit, but take little interest in its improvement. The wood is used for beams, posts and water troughs, and the leaves are made into mats, baskets, ropes and hand fans. The leaf stalks are used for fuel, and when split up furnish material for basket making, &c. The fibrous matty covering which is found at the base of the fruit stalk is used for cordage, and the stalk itself is split up and made into chicks, cages, &c. Altogether the *khajji* is a very useful plant, and is deserving of better attention.

The *bhan* is a tree that is found along banks and islands of the Chenáb and Sutlej. It is not much valued for its wood, which, though tough, is light and not very durable. It, however, is good enough for ridge-poles of sheds and other temporary structures, as well as for fuel and for making cot legs, &c. Camels, goats and sheep are very fond of the leaves, and the tender twigs are used as tooth-brushes by natives.

There are some good *mangoes* in the district. The best are probably the Sufeda, Shahpasand and the Tory, but there are not many trees of these varieties; and although some of the others are not bad eating, they are not nearly as good as those above named. The tree is cultivated for its fruit, which is eaten both in its ripe and unripe state; and when the tree gets too old to bear, it is cut down and used for fuel, planks, rafters, beams, &c.

The *nim* is another sacred tree that is cultivated as much for its medicinal properties as for its shade. It makes a splendid avenue tree, and is used in all sorts of medicines. The dried leaves when packed with warm clothing preserve the clothing from the attacks of insects.

Shrubs.

The *mallha* (Zizyphus numularia) is a thorny plant, much resembling the *ber* in leaf and fruit, but not so tall of course, and growing more in the form of a bush. The leaves make an excellent fodder, but to collect them the plant has generally to be cut. The process of collecting is not a difficult one. The cut portions of the plant are dragged to a clear

open spot, and when the leaves begin to wither they are knocked off by a few heavy blows from a stick, and are collected and stored away for future use. The clean straight stems make fairly good axe handles, and the branches and thorny portions are used for making fences and sheep enclosures, while the bark yields a tannin, and the wood is good for burning.

The *phog* (Calligonum polygonœides) is found chiefly in the sandy portions of the district. It is eaten by camels and goats, and is used for fuel and charcoal making.

The *ak* (Calotropis gigantea) is another shrub that delights in sandy soils. It grows to a height of 5 to 8 feet, and is a very useful but much abused plant. Charcoal made from it is used in the manufacture of gunpowder. The milky sap is used in various ways and for all sorts of disorders. When applied to a splinter or thorn under the nail, or indeed in any part of the body, it has a wonderful effect in immediately loosening the splinter. The point of incision of the splinter should first be opened out with a needie, care being taken not to draw blood; and then a drop or two of the fresh milk should be allowed to fall into the wound, and in a few minutes, when the milk has dried, the splinter may be easily removed with a little manipulation of the needle. In cases of toothache it is applied to relieve pain, but if used frequently it destroys the tooth altogether, bringing it away in chips from the socket. Tanners use the milk for removing hair from raw hides, and people suffering from scabies use it for producing a healthy growth of flesh. Snake-charmers use the root, and it is believed both the flower and milk, in cases of snake-bite; while the root bark is used in all sorts of preparations by hakims. The seed floss is used for stuffing pillows; and the inner lining of the green bark yields a strong silky fibre, which is not generally used, but which is capable of being spun into a strong glossy yarn.

The *kangán khár* (Haloxylon recurvum) is the plant from which sajji or barilla is made. It is cut early in the winter when the plant is in flower, and after being allowed to dry is burnt over a basin, shaped hollow, that is previously scraped in the ground; and as the plant burns it emits a liquid substance, which settling in the bottom of the pit, is stirred up with the living coals and ash, and then covered up with earth till it cools. On the third or fourth day the pit is dug up, and a large mass of barilla is found at the bottom.

An inferior description of barilla is also made from the *lâna* (Salsola), two distinct varieties of which are found in

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Shrubs.

the district. They are both much eaten by camels and goats, and, where wood is scarce, are used also for fuel.

The *láni* (Suaeda rudiflora) is another plant that yields an inferior sort of barilla, but which is not much used for that purpose. Camels are very fond of it, and so is the field rat.

The *khip* (Leptodenia spartium) is a plant that is chiefly used for heating ovens, stuffing pack-saddles, and making the walls and roofs of sheds. In its green tender state it is munched by cattle, but is not much relished by them. It yields an indifferent fibre, which can be twisted into ropes, but which is not much used for that purpose.

Lai.—There are two varieties of this plant. The *Tamarix gallica*, which is known as the Kokan or Gaddoh Lai, is generally met with on saline soils both near and long distances away from the rivers, while the *Tamarix dioica* is to be met with on alluvial deposits. The former grows more in the form of a deformed scraggy bush, while the latter (which is used for basket making and lining unbricked wells) takes the form of an erect leading shoot. Both plants are eaten by camels and goats, and are used for fuel. The former has been known to yield a sweet semi-transparent substance much resembling lumps of sugarcandy both in flavour and appearance. During the winter of 1899-1900 the plants in the Mailsi tahsil were covered with this substance, and crowds of people were to be seen collecting and eating it.

Búin.—This is a very useless plant. It is found in all sorts of soils, and is used chiefly for heating ovens.

Rasham (Pluchea lanceolata).—This is another very useless plant. It is eaten by camels and goats, but apparently not with any relish.

Jowasa or *Jawânh* (Fagonia arabica).—This plant grows abundantly on fairly moist soils. It makes its appearance early in spring, when it is most liked by camels and goats, and lasts till the end of the rains. It is a prickly shrub standing about 18 inches high, and is used occasionally by Europeans on tour as substitute for khaskas in getting tatty screens prepared. It answers admirably for this purpose, as it works well even with a moderately light breeze, and is easily obtained in all parts of the district.

Dhamáhán (Fagonia bruguiera).—This much resembles the Jowasa, but is not found in such abundance, and is used chiefly in medicines.

Climbers.

The *Van Vari*, *Bakrain* and *Kurkat* are the principal climbers that are found in the district. They are all eaten by camels and goats, and are generally found on Jand trees.

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Grasses.

Of the many varieties of grasses that are to be found in the district, the following are most known; and the first six are considered the best for fodder:—

Khabal	(*Cynodon dactylon*).
Dhaman	(*Pennisetum cenchroides*)
Palwahn	(*Andropogon annulatus*).
Kheo	(*Sporobolus orientalis*).
Sowank	(*Panicum colonum*).
Chimbar	(*Eleusine aegyptiaca*).
Girram	(*Panicum antidotale*).
Khavi	(*Andropogon ivarancusa*).
Dab	(*A. muricatus*).
Nonak	(*Sporobolus diander*).
Dila	(*Scirpus maritimus*).
Kura	(*Panicum helopus*).
Sar	(*Saccharum ciliare*).
Kánh.	(*S. spontaneum*).

The two last named are tall coarse grasses that are much used for thatching purposes. They are found in great abundance on low-lying alluvial deposits and on the banks of water-courses and canals. Both plants yield a fibre, but the moonj fibre of the Sar is infinitely superior to the fibre obtained from the Kánh. The Sar reed, which is known as the Kána or Sarkanda is extensively used for making chicks, stools, chairs, and for roofing houses, while the last, or rather uppermost, joint of the reed is used for making winnowing trays, screens, boxes and baskets. Altogether the Sar is a very useful plant, and is much valued by the agriculturist, whose needs in the matter of rope and cordage are all supplied from the fibre of this plant.

Other plants.

Some *kúndar* (Typha angustifolia) is to be found in parts of the district. It is eaten by horned cattle, and is used for making mats, thick ropes, and baskets. The fruit (known as Búrí) is sometimes used for human food.

The *kanwal* or *pabban* (Nelumbium speciosum) is the lotus, the roots, stalks and seeds of which are eaten by natives. The roots (known as Bhen) are a common food in this part of the Punjab.

Tumma or *kartumma* (Citrullus colocynthis).—The fruit, leaves and root of this creeper are all used medicinally. It is the colocynth mentioned in the Indian Pharmacopœia.

Kandiári (Argemone Mexicana).—This is a prickly little plant that bears a spherical little fruit which much resembles a miniature brinjál. The fruit, leaves and juice of this plant are used as medicines.

The *kakora* or wild bitter gourd is found during the rains in well sheltered low-lying localities, and is eaten by both Hindús and Muhammadans.

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Other plants.

Chibbhar.—This is a sort of a melon that trails along the ground. It bears a mottled oval-shaped fruit, about 1½ inches long, that is eaten by both man and beast.

The *bhakra* (Tribulus terrestris) is found all over the district. It is the plant that is so often spoken of as having been freely eaten by people in times of scarcity. Camels, goats and sheep are very fond of it, and the powdered fruit is used in kidney and urinary disorders.

The *bokhat* (Asphodelus fistulosus) and the *leh* or milk thistle are two very troublesome weeds to the agriculturists. They prefer a fairly moist sandy soil but are found almost anywhere, and are very difficult to eradicate. The *Itsat* (Trianthema pentandra) is another very troublesome weed. It grows with great obstinacy during the rains, and requires a lot of weeding to be kept down. The two former are winter crop weeds, while the last named is one that asserts itself during the rains. It is used medicinally, and as a pot herb too, and is eaten greedily by camels and goats.

The *khumb* or mushroom is found during the rains, and is eaten by all classes of people.

Wild animals: sport.

Multán is not a particularly good district for sport. In most villages of the Mailsi tahsil and elsewhere along the Sutlej riverain grey partridge are fairly plentiful. Black partridge are found usually in the *Hithár* and in the reserved forests, while a few gazelle occur in the latter. Snipe are rare and there are no really good duck *jhíls*. Kuranga and Jalálpur Pirwálla sometimes afford fair sport and a few duck can be picked up in back-waters of the Sutlej and Chenáb. Geese abound on the Sutlej during the winter and the crane is common near both rivers.

There are no nilgai or black buck, and the only descriptions of deer that are to be met with are the chinkara (Indian gazelle) and the hog deer; the latter is found mainly in the swampy belahs of the rivers. Pig are also to be found, but they never break cover in places where they can be ridden to the spear, and they must either be shot or (in the event of their being required for a run) netted an[d t]aken to the open. Obárah and sandgrouse visit the district during the winter. In addition to these, there are the quail, plover, pigeon and curlew, which all add to the table fare and help to make camp life pleasant. As regards the curlew, the three varieties (red crested, black, grey and white) that are known in the Punjáb are all to be met with. Foxes, hares and jackals are sufficiently plentiful to afford tolerably good sport with a bobbery pack.

Wolves are occasionally to be met with (generally in pairs), but they are not destructive to human life, and are seldom even known to attack people. Badgers and wild cats

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Wild animals: sport.

are also to be found, and some good rifle practice can be made on alligators that are often seen basking on the islands and sand-banks of the rivers.*

The chuhras (people of the sweeper caste) shikar a lizard called the sáhna or sanda. This repulsive looking creature is about 10 inches long. It is gregarious in its habits, and is found in the *bár*, living in holes about 4 feet deep. The burrows slope to an angle of about 33° and are provided with two chambers, one just below the entrance of the hole and the other at the extreme lower end. The lower apartment is the nursery and is used also for the sáhna to lie up in during the dead of the winter, when he is in a semi-torpid state. The sáhna is gifted with a very keen sense of hearing, and is provided with a horny scolloped tail for purposes of defence. He is able to hold his own in cases of dispute between himself and the smaller varieties of snakes as to whether he is to give himself up, body and all, for the snake's dinner, or retain possession of his hole. He is most peculiar in his habits. From early spring to the commencement of winter he comes out of his hole daily, never leaving it, however, till the sun is fairly warm; and on retiring to rest, at about 5 or 6 in the evening, he carefully plugs up his hole with loose earth taken from the upper chamber and battered against the mouth of the hole with his head to keep it in position. In this way he protects himself fairly well from snakes; but if a snake attempts to force himself into the hole (which they frequently do), the sáhna meets him at the hole, tail foremost, and, while carefully protecting his body by the walls of the hole, waggles his tail about and disputes his entrance. In the scuffle that ensues the snake as frequently comes off second best as victorious. The sáhna generally keeps his opponent at bay as long as he does not take a false step, either by allowing too much of his tail to protrude beyond the hole, or, on being intimidated, by retreating to a distance that may enable the snake to force himself between the sáhna and the sides of the hole. People who hunt the sáhna know how readily he comes up to defend himself from the attacks of snakes, and this knowledge has caused them to devise a plan for hunting him by imitating the rustling of a snake. They do this with a tuft of moonj fibre tied on to the end of a stick, about 5 feet long, in the form of a paint-brush. The holes are previously marked off by long straight lines, that are to serve as a guide to the shikári when he commences operations later on. On the sáhna retiring to rest, and before darkness sets in, the shikári approaches the hole very cautiously; and as he moves along

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* Larger game was to be found within a comparatively recent period. Vigne travelling between Luddan and Multán in 1836 writes "Tigers are to be found in some parts of the jungle and on the banks of the rivers" (Ghazni, p. 14).

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Wild animals: sport.

with the brush well in advance of him, he trails it along the ground in a zigzag fashion till he gets up to the hole. He then quietly squats down, and at breaks of short intervals rustles the brush all around and over the hole till the sáhna, in his excitement and by constant waggling of the tail, dislodges the plug of earth which, in falling, still further excites the sáhna and causes him to poke it out to a distance that enables the shikári to lay hold of it. He is then speedily jammed against the side of the hole by a flat wooden peg that is inserted to keep him from struggling. This plan of shikár is practiced only in certain seasons and when a colony of sáhna happen to be within convenient reach of the chuhra's encampment. The usual mode of shikaring them is during the day, either before they have opened out their holes or immediately after they have plugged them up. The implements then used are a peg similar to the one already described and a mallet, shaped like a polo stick, about a foot long, with a 3-foot handle struck in nearer towards the base than the apex. The mallet head tapers to a point about an inch in diameter, and is generally made of some hard wood. Armed with these instruments and a double cord-belt round his waist, the chuhra stalks out either before the sáhnas have left their holes, or immediately after they have retired; and as he moves along (always without shoes, and at a very slow pace) he keeps a sharp look out for the sáhna's hole, which he approaches very cautiously, almost on tiptoe; and when within striking distance of the hole, he brings his mallet down with such terrific force that with one blow of his mallet he sinks a shaft, about 4 inches away from the hole, that completely cuts off the sáhna's retreat, and rapidly inserting the wooden peg into the crumbled chamber, he secures his shikár, and breaking its spine just above the shoulders, he puts it between one of the twists of his cord-belt, and proudly marches off to the next sahná's hole. A chuhra, after a successful day's shikár, is a treat to see. His shoes (if he has any) are generally stuck into his pagri, and with his belt full of these repulsive looking sáhnas, all dangling around his waist, he brings to memory the pictures one sometimes sees of Adam and Eve after they had been driven out of the Garden of Eden. A third way of shikaring the sáhna is to suffocate the poor beast. This plan admits of all the members of the chuhra family participating in the sport. It is carried on during the rains (generally after a very heavy fall, when there is plenty of water available). The chuhra on such occasions goes out with all the spare members of his family, providing himself with a few pots and some sort of digging implements; they go to the nearest depression that has some water within convenient reach, and either drain water into the hole by an artificial cutting, or swamp it by filling it

Wide animals : sport.

from their pots. As soon as this is done, the hole is plugged up with a tuft of grass or tender twigs; and after all the neighbouring holes are treated in a similar manner, the plugs are drawn out, and the poor swamped sáhna, that had been trying to force his way through the tuft, comes out cold in death, with his claws stiffened over the twigs that he had been trying to grasp.

Snakes.

Of venomous snakes the Cobra, the *Echis Carinata* and the Krait (*Bungarus Caeruleus*) are the most common. They are to be found all over the district, and are a constant source of danger during the summer. During the five years ending in 1920, rewards were given for the destruction of 2,234 snakes, and the deaths of 344 person from snake-bites were reported.

(*d*) Climate.

The heat and dust of Multán are proverbial. The day temperature in the summer months is high, but this is counterbalanced by a comparatively cool night, when usually a breeze springs up, which prevents that feeling of suffocation felt in some other places where the actual temperature recorded may not be so high, but where the air is still. No doubt the high temperature is due to the comparative want of moisture in the atmosphere, which renders it diathermic, permitting the passage of the heat rays more freely than when it is laden with moisture. The soil, too, absorbs and reflects the heat to a high degree; yet once the sun goes down, the pure dry air allows of the rapid radiation of heat from the soil, thus giving as a compensation to the heat of the day a cool night. The highest day temperatures are recorded in the end of May and beginning of June. The climate of the district is not so bad as it is often painted. As elsewhere in the Punjáb, the cold weather is delightful, and the hot weather, though a long one, is probably more endurable than that of most plain stations in the province. In March there are some hot days, but a storm or series of storms generally comes, and the mornings and evenings remains fairly cool till well into May. From then to the end of the June it rapidly gets hotter, the last week or ten days of June being usually very oppressive. For some reason or other, although there seems to be only too much hot wind, *tatties* will not work in Multán. What the weather will be from the end of June to the beginning of the cold weather is a great chance. In favourable years a slight breeze sets in with the rains, and continues to blow on and off throughout July; in August there are generally some hot steamy days; in September the days are still hot, but the mornings and evenings become cool, and this coolness increases until the cold weather sets in, generally with a thunderstorm, about October 15th, but it is too hot to be pleasant in tents till the middle of November. This is the weather in favourable

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years; in unfavourable ones no breeze sets in, and as soon as the scanty showers cease, the whole place begins to steam.

(e) Rainfall.

There is a rain gauge at each of the tahsil headquarters and the records are shown in tables 3, 4 and 5 of Part B of the Gazetteer. In 1917-18 the monsoon rains were abnormally heavy, 13·41 inches falling during August and September. Excluding this year, the average for the period 1909-10 to 1918-19 was as follows:—

——	Multan.	Shujabad.	Lodhran.	Kabirwala	Mailsi.
April to September ...	4·41	3·42	5·05	4·84	5·33
October to March ...	1·74	1·13	1·30	1·43	1·26
Total ...	6·15	4·55	6·35	6·27	6·59

The normal average is rather more than 6 inches of which the monsoon rains account for about 5 inches. The district thus shares very little either in the summer or winter rains.

SECTION B.—HISTORY.

Early period.

There is practically no history of Multán before the arrival of the Arabs in the 8th century A.D. It is nearly certain that Alexander passed through the district in the cold weather of B.C. 325—326, but it is almost impossible to trace his march with any definiteness. The accounts of his invasion are discussed in Sir A. Cunningham's books and in Bunbury's Ancient Geography, but the identifications are so utterly conjectural that it has been thought better to quote as it stands the account given by Arrian, from which readers may draw their own conclusions. That historian describes how Alexander after reaching the confluence of the Chenáb and Jhelum rivers marched across a desert against the Malloi and stormed one of their cities (supposed by General Cunningham to be Kot Kamália). He then continues:—

* Alexander having dined and allowed his troops to rest till the first watch of the night, began to march forward, and, having travelled a great distance in the night, arrived at the river Hydraôtês at daybreak. There he learned that many of the Malloi† had already

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* The translation is that given by McCrindle in "The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great." Constable, 1893.

† The Malloi are probably the same as the Málavas mentioned in the Mahabharata.

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Early period.

crossed to the other bank, but he fell upon others who were in the act of crossing and slew many of them during the passage. He crossed the river along with them, just as he was, and by the same ford. He then closely pursued the fugitives who had outstripped him in their retreat. Many of these he slew, and he captured others, but most of them escaped to a position of great natural strength which was also strongly fortified.* But when the infantry came up with him, Alexander sent Peithôn with his own brigade and two squadrons of cavalry against the fugitives. This detachment attacked the stronghold, captured it at the first assault, and made slaves of all who had fled into it, except, of course, those who had fallen in the attack. Then Peithôn and his men, their task fulfilled, returned to the camp.

Alexander himself next led his army against a certain city of the Brachmans,† because he had learned that many of the Malloi had fled thither for refuge. On reaching it, he led the phalanx in compact ranks against all parts of the wall. The inhabitants, on finding the walls undermined, and that they were themselves obliged to retire before the storm of missiles, left the walls and fled to the citadel, and began to defend themselves from thence. But as a few Macedonians had rushed in along with them, they rallied, and turning round in a body upon the pursuers, drove some from the citadel and killed twenty-five of them in their retreat. Upon this Alexander ordered his men to apply the scaling ladders to the citadel on all its sides and to undermine its walls; and when an undermined tower had fallen and a breach had been made in the wall between two towers, thus exposing the citadel to attack in that quarter, Alexander was seen to be the first man to scale and lay hold of the wall. Upon seeing this, the rest of the Macedonians for very shame ascended the wall at various points, and quickly had the citadel in their hands. Some of the Indians set fire to their houses, in which they were caught and killed, but most part fell fighting. About 5,000 in all were killed, and, as they were men of spirit, a few only were taken prisoners.

He remained there one day to give his army rest, and next day he moved forward to attack the rest of the Malloi. He found their cities abandoned, and ascertained that the inhabitants had fled into the desert. There he again allowed the army a day's rest, and next day sent Peithôn and Demetrios, the cavalry commander, back to the river with their own troops, and as many battalions of light armed infantry as the nature of the work required. He directed them to march along the edge of the river, and if they came upon any of those who had fled for refuge to the jungle, of which there were numerous patches along the river-bank, to put them all to death unless they voluntarily surrendered. The troops under these two officers captured many of the fugitives in these jungles and killed them.

He marched himself against the largest city of the Malloi, to which he was informed many men from their other cities had fled for safety. The Indians, however, abandoned this place also when they heard that Alexander was approaching. They then crossed the Hydraôtês, and, with a view to obstruct Alexander's passage, remained drawn up in order of battle upon the banks because they were very steep. On learning this, he took all the cavalry which he had with him, and marched to that part of the Hydraôtês where he had been told the Malloi were posted; and the infantry were directed to follow after him. When he came to the river and descried the enemy drawn up

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‡ (χωρίον ὀχυρον καί τετειχισμένον)

Cunningham locates the position at Tulamba, where there are remains of a large mud fort. See also the account of Tulamba in Chapter IV below.

† This according to Cunningham, is probably the mound at Atári on the Kábírwála-Tulamba road.

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Early period.

on the opposite bank, he plunged at once, just as he was after the march, into the ford, with the cavalry only. When the enemy saw Alexander now in the middle of the stream they withdrew in haste, but yet in good order, from the bank, and Alexander pursued them with the cavalry only. But when the Indians perceived he had nothing but a party of horse with him, they faced round and fought stoutly, being about 50,000 in number. Alexander, perceiving that their phalanx was very compact, and his own infantry not on the ground, rode along all round them, and sometimes charged their ranks, but not at close quarters. Meanwhile the Agrianians and other battalions of light-armed infantry, which consisted of picked men, arrived on the field along with the archers, while the phalanx of infantry was showing in sight at no great distance off. As they were threatened at once with so many dangers, the Indians wheeled round, and with headlong speed fled to the strongest of all the cites that lay near.* Alexander killed many of them in the pursuit, while those who escaped to the city were shut up within its walls. At first, therefore, he surrounded the place with his horsemen as soon as they came up from the march. But when the infantry arrived he encamped around the wall on every side for the remainder of this day—a time too short for making an assault, to say nothing of the great fatigue his army had undergone, the infantry from their long march, and the cavalry by the continuous pursuit and espacially by the passage of the river.

On the following day, dividing his army into two parts, he himself assaulted the wall at the head of one division, while Perdikkas led forward the other. Upon this the Indians without waiting to receive the attack of the Macedonians, abandoned the walls and fled for refuge to the citadel. Alexander and his troops therefore burst open a small gate and entered the city long before the others. But Perdikkas and the troops under his command entered it much later, having found it no easy work to surmount the walls. The most of them, in fact, had neglected to bring scaling ladders, for when they saw the wall left without defenders they took it for granted that the city had actually been captured. But when it became clear that the enemy was still in possession of the citadel, and that many of them were drawn up in front of it to repel attack, the Macedonians endeavoured to force their way into it, some by sapping the walls, and others by applying the scaling ladders wherever that was practicable. Alexander, thinking that the Macedonians who carried the ladders were loitering too much, snatched one from the man who carried it, placed it against the wall, and began to ascend, cowering the while under his shield. The next to follow was Penkestas, who carried the sacred shield which Alexander had taken from the temple of the Ilian Athênâ, and which he used to keep with him and have carried before him in all his battles. Next to him Leonnatos, an officer of the bodyguard, ascended by the same ladder; and by a different ladder Abreas, one of those soldiers who for superior merit drew double pay and allowances. The king was now near the coping of the wall, and resting his shield against it, was pushing some of the Indians within the fort, and had cleared the parapet by killing others with his sword. The hypaspists, now alarmed beyond measure for the king's safety, pushed each other in their haste up the same ladder and broke it so that those who were already mounting it fell down and made the ascent impracticable for others.

Alexander, while standing on the wall, was then assailed on every side from the adjacent towers, for none of the Indians had the courage to come near him. He was assailed also by men in the city, who threw darts at him from no great distance off, for it so happened

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* This is the city usually identified with Multán. The identification is very probably correct, but that it is not without difficulties will be easily seen by a glance at the text above quoted.

that a mound of earth had been thrown up in that quarter close to the wall. Alexander was, moreover, a conspicuous object both by the splendour of his arms and the astonishing audacity he displayed. He then perceived that if he remained where he was, he would be exposed to danger without being able to achieve anything noteworthy, but if he leaped down into the citadel he might perhaps by this very act paralyse the Indians with terror, and if he did not, but necessarily incurred danger, he would in that case not die ignobly, but after performing great deeds worth being remembered by the men of after times. Having so resolved, he leaped down from the wall into the citadel. Then, supporting himself against the wall he slew with his sword some who assailed him at close quarters, and in particular the governor of the Indians who had rushed upon him too boldly. Against another Indian whom he saw approaching, he hurled a stone to check his advance, and another he similarly repelled. If any one came within nearer reach he again used his sword. The barbarians had then no further wish to approach him but standing around assailed him from all quarters with whatever missiles they carried or could lay their hands on.

At this crisis Penkestas, and Abreas the dimoirite, and after them Leonnatos, the only men who succeeded in reaching the top of the wall before the ladder broke, leaped down and began fighting in front of the king. But there Abreas fell, pierced in the forehead by an arrow, Alexander himself was also struck by one which pierced through his cuirass into his chest above the pap, so that as Ptolemy says, air gurgled from the wound along with the blood. But sorely wounded as he was, he continued to defend himself as long as his blood was still warm. Since much blood, however, kept gushing out with every breath he drew a dizziness and faintness seized him, and he fell where he stood in a collapse upon his shield. Penkastas then bestrode him where he fell holding up in front of him the sacred shield which had been taken from Illion, while Leonnatos protected him from side attacks. But both these men were severely wounded, and Alexander was now on the point of swooning away from the loss of blood. As for the Macedonians, they were at a loss how to make their way into the citadel, because those who had seen Alexander shot at upon the wall and then leap down inside it, had broken down the ladders up which they were rushing in all haste, dreading lest their king, in recklessly exposing himself to danger, should come by some hurt. In their perplexity they devised various plans for ascending the wall. It was made of earth, and so some drove pegs into it, and swinging themselves up by means of these, scrambled with difficulty to the top. Others ascended by mounting one upon the other. The man who first reached the top flung himself headlong from the wall into the city, and was followed by the others. There, when they saw the king fallen prostrate, they all raised loud lamentations and outcries of grief. And now around his fallen form a desperate struggle ensued, one Macedonian after another holding his shield in front of him. In the meantime, some of the soldiers having shattered the bar by which the gate in the wall between the towers was secured, made their way into the city a few at a time, and others when they saw that a rift was made in the gate, put their shoulders under it and having then pushed it into the space within the wall, opened an entrance into the citadel in that quarter.

Upon this some began to kill the Indians, and in the massacre spared none, neither man, woman, nor child. Others bore off the king upon his shield. His condition was very low, and they could not yet tell whether he was likely to survive. Some writers have asserted that Kritodêmos, a physician of Kôs, an Asklapiad by birth, extracted the weapon from the wound by making an incision where the blow had struck. Other writers, however, say that as no surgeon was present at this terrible crisis, Perdikkas, an officer of the bodyguard at Alexander's own desire made an incision into the wound with his sword and removed the weapon. Its removal was followed by such a copious

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effusion of blood that Alexander again swooned, and the swoon had the effect of staunching the flux. Many fictions also have been recorded by historians concerning this accident, and Fame receiving them from the original inventors, has preserved them to our own day nor will she cease to transmit the falsehoods to one generation after another except they be finally suppressed by this history.

The common account, for example, is that this accident befell Alexander among the Oxydrakai,* but in fact it occurred among the Malloi, an independent Indian nation. The city belonged to the Malloi and the men who wounded Alexander were Malloi. They had certainly agreed to combine with the Oxydrakai and give battle to the common enemy, but Alexander had thwarted this design by his sudden and rapid march through the waterless country, whereby these tribes were prevented from giving each other mutual help.

While Alexander remained at this place to be cured of his wound, the first news which reached the camp whence he had started to attack the Malloi was that he had died of his wound. Then there arose at first a loud lamentation from the whole army, as the mournful tidings spread from man to man. But when their lamentation was ended, they gave way to despondency and anxious doubts about the appointment of a commander to the army, for among the officers many could advance claims to that dignity which both the Alexander and the Macedonians seemed of equal weight. They were also in fear and doubt how they could be conducted home in safety surrounded as they were on all hands by warlike nations, some not yet reduced, but likely to fight resolutely for their freedom, while others would to a certainty revolt when relieved from their fear of Alexander. They seemed besides to be just then among impassable rivers, while the whole outlook presented nothing but inextricable difficulties when they most wanted their king. But on receiving word that he was still alive they could hardly think it true, or persuade themselves that he was likely to recover. Even when a letter came from the king himself intimating that he would soon come down to the camp, most of them from the excess of fear which possessed them distrusted the news, for they fancied that the letter was a forgery concocted by his body-guards and generals.

On coming to know this, Alexander, anxious to prevent any commotions arising in the army, as soon as he could bear the fatigue, had himself conveyed to the banks of the river Hydraôtês and embarking there he sailed down the river to reach the camp, at the junction of the Hydraôtês and the Akesines,† where Hêphaistion commanded the land forces and Nearchos the fleet. When the vessel which carried the king was now approaching the camp, he ordered the awning to be removed from the poop that he might be visible to all. They were, however, even yet incredulous, supposing that the freight of the vessel was Alexander's dead body, until he neared the bank when he raised his arm and stretched out his hand to the multitude. Then the men raised a loud cheer and lifted up their hands, some towards heaven and some towards Alexander himself. Tears even started involuntarily to the eyes of not a few at the unexpected sight. Some of the hypaspists brought him a litter where he was carried ashore from the vessel, but he called for his horse. When he was seen once more on horseback, the whole army greeted him with loud acclamations, which filled with their echoes the shores and all the surrounding hills and dales [!]

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* Also called Hydrakai, Sydracae and Syrakousai by various classical authors. Authorities are at variance as regards the proper Sanskrit equivalent which is given as Suraka Asuraka, Sudra Sudraka, &c.

† *i.e.*, of the Rávi and the Chenáb. As noted in Chapter I these rivers used up to a comparatively recent period to meet south of Multán.

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Alexander having received the submission of Malloi and Oxydrakai, proceeded down the Chenáb to its junction with the Indus, leaving Philip as ' satrap ' in charge. This Philip was shortly afterwards murdered by one Eudemus, who began to extend his power over the north and west of the province. In B.C. 327, however, the Macedonians were overpowered by Chandragupta, of Pataliputra, the Sandracottus of Megasthenes, and the family of this prince remained in power over Northern India till the beginning of the second century B.C., when the country was invaded by the Græco-Bactrian sovereigns who were at that time being ousted from their own Bactrian dominions. Then from about 30 B.C. to 470 A.D. the Kushan tribe of the great Yue-chi and their successors from a cognate race, the Little Yue-chi, were the predominant power; and from 470 to about 550 A.D. the Ephthalites or White Huns are supposed to have been in authority. The battle in which the White Huns are believed to have been finally defeated by a Hindu king Vikramaditya (about A.D. 544), is said by Albiruni to have been fought " in the region of Karúr between Multán and the castle of Loni," but the identification of this Karúr with the town of Kahror in the Multán District is very doubtful.

The next indication of events in the early history of Multán is derived from the writings of early Arab geographers* in which Multán figures as the capital of an important province of the kingdom of Sindh. At the time when the Arabs first penetrated the valley of the Indus, the country was ruled by Chach, a Brahman, who had usurped the throne on the death of Sahási Rai, the last monarch of a dynasty bearing the name of Rai. With regard to this dynasty no detailed information is extant.† The *Chachnáma*, however, relates that Siharas, father of Sahási Rai, had divided his kingdom into four provinces, the most northern of which had its capital at Multán, and extended as far as the borders of Kashmír.‡ The date of Chach's usurpation is fixed by Sir H. Elliot as A.H. 10, corresponding to A.D. 631.§ Having seized upon Alor, the capital of the Rai dynasty, he marched northwards into the province of Multán, which was held by Malik Bajhra, a relative of Sahási Rai. Crossing the Biás, which then had an independent course,

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* Collected in Elliot's " History of India," Vol. I.

† The *Chachnáma* mentions the names of three kings—Sahási Rai, his father Siharas, and his grandfather Sahási Rai I; the *Tufat-ul-kirám* mentions two additional names (see Elliot, Hist. Ind., I., p. 405). Another Arab History—the *Majma-i-wáridát*—assigns to the dynasty an antiquity of two thousand years.

‡ *Chachnáma*. Elliot, Hist. Ind., I., p. 139.

§ Hist., Ind., I., p. 414.

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he defeated the son of Bajhra, and having occupied the fort of Sikka, on the Rávi, opposite Multán, crossed over to the siege of the capital city. After a stout resistance Bajhra retired within the walls, and having made an unsuccessful application for help to the Rája of Kashmír, at last surrendered upon honorable terms. From Multán, Chach proceeded to subdue Brahmápur, Kahror and Asháhar, cities of the Multán province, and then marching northwards, and penetrating apparently into the lower Himáláyás, there fixed the boundary between his kingdom and that of Kashmír.* Chach died in A.D. 671, and was succeeded by his brother Chandar, who is said to have been a zealous adherent of the Buddhist faith.† Chandar was succeeded in A.D. 679 by his nephew Dahir, son of Chach.

Towards the end of the year 641 A.D., while Chach was still alive, the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang came, *viâ* Sindh, to Multán. The account of his travels merely states briefly that "leaving the right bank of the Indus, he arrived at the kingdom of Mu-lo-san-pu-lu" (Mula-sthána-pura), and continues with a short description of the Sun-temple in the city. Hiuen Tsang's account of the Punjáb kingdoms of that day is not easily reconciled with the accounts given by the Arab historians, but deserves credit on account of his general truthfulness and accuracy.

ARAB RULE.—CIRCA 700—970 A. D.

One is apt to forget that when Hiuen Tsang visited Multán twenty years of the Hijra era had already passed, and that within twenty years of his departure the Arabs were knocking at the gates of Sindh. The Arabs were, it is true, restrained by various considerations from any immediate incursions into India, and they had set about the conquest of Spain before they laid hands on the Indus valley, but in due time and within seventy years of the visit of the Buddhist pilgrim the Muhammadan conqueror stood in his footsteps at Multán. The piratical outrages of the Meds of lower Sindh had roused the spirit of the Caliph, and a victorious army led by a passionate general of eighteen years of age surged up the valley of the Indus, defeating the remnants of the dynasty of Chach and capturing fortress after fortress till Multán itself was reached.

Muhammadanism, having thus been introduced into Multán, was not again repulsed. It would be a mistake, however, to imagine that the district became at once the Muhammadan country that it now is. The invading force was but small in numbers, and far removed from its supports, so that the occupation of the district was in the main a military one.

* *Chachnáma*. Elliot, Hist. Ind., I., p. 144.

† *Ibid*, 152-53.

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The Governor himself lived in a cantonment some miles from Multán, and there appears to have been a subordinate Governor at Kahror, but the majority of the people of the district were, as before, Rájpút unbelievers. The conquerors must have been largely Arabs, but it was only by degrees that anything like a permanent immigration of true or nominal Arabs took place: there is no Syad or Kuresh family of note in the district that traces its advent from any date before the Ghaznavide invasion, and there is no tradition (other than that of the conversion of the Dhudis of Diwán Chawali Mashaikh) which points to any general conversions of the natives during the first three centuries of Muhammadan occupation. The Hindu populations, lying along the banks of the river, were left much to themselves, they were assessed to land revenue and the capitation tax, but their internal organization was not interfered with, and their religious institutions were, after the first flush of victory, left undisturbed

As time passed on the power of the Caliphate began to weaken, and by the end of the 9th century Multán was, for all practical purposes, independent of Baghdad. How the local governors continued to maintain their power against the natives it is not easy to say: it is possible that, as Masúdi says, the possession of the Sun-temple was their safeguard, but more probably the Punjáb and Delhi powers, though much renowned in story, were really too weak to have much effect on the Muhammadan garrison of Multán, while the Sáhí dynasties to the north were fully occupied in resisting Mussalmán aggression in the direction of Kandáhár and Kábul. At all events we hear of no wars, and the district remained for three centuries the outpost of Islám in India, while practically the whole of the rest of what is now known as the Punjáb remained under Hindu rulers.

Chronicle.

664. The Arabs invaded the Indus Valley. Firishta (Briggs i, 4) says that they penetrated to Multán, but Al Biladuri (Ell. i, 116) does not expressly state this to have been the case.

712. Muhammad Kasim marches triumphantly from lower Sindh up the Indus Valley, defeats Raja Dáhir near Sakkar, and presses on towards Multán. After taking Askalanda (supposed to be the modern Uch)*, he attacked Sikka (a fort lying apparently immediately opposite Multán on the south bank of the Rávi), and ultimately gained Multán itself.

The following is the account of the campaign given by Al Biladuri (d. A. D. 892-3, Ell. i, 122):—

'Muhammad advanced towards Alsaka, a town on this side of the Biás, which was captured by him and is now in ruins. He then

* The Rávi then probably flowed south of the city of Multán. Askalanda (var. Alakanda. Akaslanda, A'dkanda, &c.) has been identified, very doubtfully, with Uch. The site of Sikka is unknown; possibly it was on the mounds south of the City Railway Station where the shrine of Mal Pákdáman now stands.

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crossed the Biás and went towards Multán, where, in the action which ensued, Zaida, the son of Umur, of the tribe of Tai, covered himself with glory. The infidels retreated in disorder into the town, and Muhammad commenced the siege, but the provisions being exhausted the Mussalmáns were reduced to eat asses. Then came there forward an old man who sued for quarter and pointed out to them an aqueduct, by which the inhabitants were supplied with drinking water from the river of Basmad. It flowed within the city into a reservoir like a well which they call *taláb*. Muhammad destroyed this water-course, whereon the inhabitants oppressed with thirst surrendered at discretion. He massacred the men capable of bearing arms, but the children were taken captives as well as the ministers of the temple to the number of six thousand.'

. The author of the Chach-nama, which was written before 750 A.D., gives a somewhat different account. (Ell. i, 203 *seqq.*):—

'When he had settled affairs with Kaska, he left the fort, crossed the Biás and reached the stronghold of Askalanda, the people of which, being informed of the arrival of the Arab army, came out to fight. The idolators were defeated and threw themselves into the fort. They began to shoot arrows and fling stones from the mangonels on the walls. The battle continued for seven days, and the nephew of the chief of Multán, who was in the fort of that city, made such attacks that the army began to be distressed for provisions; but at last the chief of Askalanda came out in the night time and threw himself into the fort of Sikka, which is a large fort on the south bank of the Rávi.......Muhammad Kasim, with the army, proceeded towards Sikka Multán. It was a fort on the south bank of the Rávi, and Bajhra Taki, grandson of Bajhra (daughter's son) was in it. When he received the intelligence he commenced operations. Every day when the army of the Arabs advanced towards the fort, the enemy came out and fought, and for 17 days they maintained a fierce conflict. Bajhra passed over the Rávi and went into Multán. In consequence of the death of his friends Muhammad Kásim had sworn to destroy the fort, so he ordered his men to pillage the whole city. He then crossed over towards Multán at the ferry below the city, and Bajhra came out to take the field. That day the battle raged from morning till sunset, and when the world, like a day-labourer, covered itself with the blanket of darkness, the king of the heavenly host covered himself with the veil of concealment, and all retired to their tents. The next day when the morning dawned from the horizon, and earth was illumined fighting again commenced, and many men were slain on both sides; but the victory remained still undecided. For a space of two months mangonels and ghazraks were used, and stones and arrows were thrown from the wall of the fort. At last provisions became exceedingly scarce in the camp, and the price of an ass's head was raised to 500 dirhams. When the chief Gursiya, son of Chandar, nephew of Dáhir, saw that the Arabs were in no way disheartened, but, on the contrary, were confident, and that he had no prospect of relief, he went to wait on the king of Kashmír. The next day, when the Arabs reached the fort and the fight commenced, no place was found suitable for digging a mine until a person came out of the fort and sued for mercy. Muhammad Kásim gave him protection, and he pointed out a place towards the north on the banks of a river. A mine was dug, and in two or three days the walls fell down and the fort was taken. Six thousand warriors were put to death and all their relations and dependents were taken as slaves. Protection was given to the merchants, artizans and the agriculturists....... When Muhammad Kásim had settled terms with the principal inhabitants of Multán he erected a Jama Masjid and minarets, and he appointed the Amir Daud Nasr, son of Walid Ummani, its Governor. He left Kharim, son of Abul Malik Taman in the fort of Bramhápúr, on the banks of the Jhelum, which was called Sobur (Shore?). Akrama, son of Rihan Shami, was appointed Governor of the territory round Multán,

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and Ahmad, son of Harima, son of Atba Madani, was appointed Governor of the forts of Ajtáhad and Karur.'

After this Muhammad Kásim had marched some distance northward when he was recalled by orders from the Caliph: the well-known story of this sudden recall and its tragic results is recorded in most histories of India.

After Kásim's death no further information is forthcoming, except that Multán was once more taken by the Arabs in the Caliphate of Mansur, 753—774 and once again in that of Mutasim billah (833—841) [Al Biladuri in Ell. i, 127—128].

In 871 the lower Indus Valley fell into the hands of Yakúb bin Lais, and shortly after that event we find two kingdoms established, one with its capital at Mansura near the present Haidarabad, and the other with its headquarters at Multán.

The Geographer Masúdi visited Multán, of which he gave the following account in his "Meadows of Gold":—"As for the king of Multán, I have said that the throne is in the family of Osama, son of Loa, son of Ghalib, and he is the possessor of an army and of fortifications. Multán is one of the big Muslim frontiers, around which are a hundred and twenty thousand hamlets and villages according to the count and enumeration. In Multán, as I have said, is the famous idol of Multán which is visited by people from the farthest confines of Sindh and India who bring native offerings of money and jewels and aloes wood and all kinds of perfumes and thousands of people make the pilgrimage to it. And most of the revenues of the king of Multán are derived from the best parts of the pure aloes wood of *qamor* which is brought to the idol and is worth two hundred dinars a maund and which receives the mark of a signet ring like wax; as well as from other wonderful things which are brought to the idol. And if the infidel kings descend upon Multán and the Muslims are unable to put them to flight they threaten them with the destruction or mutilation of this idol and upon that the armies depart. And my visit to Multán took place after the year 300* and the reigning king then was Abu Lihab-al-Munabbih, son of Asad, the Qureshi of the house of Osama."

About 951, the Geographer Istakhri wrote his 'Books of the Climates' in which he says, 'Mansura is more fertile than Multán.' (Raverty J. A. S. B. 1892, page 190, translates 'Multán has a large *hisár* but Mansura is the more populous.') At half a parsang from Multán there is a large cantonment (lofty edifices—Raverty) which is the abode of the chief, who never enters Multán except on Friday when he goes on the back of an elephant, in order to join in the Prayer of that day. The Governor is of the tribe of Kuraish (Raverty adds—'the descendant of Sámson of Luwai who seized upon Multán') and is not subject to the ruler of Mansura, but reads the *khutba* in the name of the Khalifa. Samand is a small city situated like Multán, on the east of the river Mihrán: between each of these places and the river, the distance is two parsangs.† The water is obtained from wells. The people of Multán wear trousers, and most of them speak Persian and Sindhi as in Mansura.' (Ell. i, 28-29).

In 976 Ibn Haukal visited India for the second time, and gives very much the same account of Multán as Istakhri does.

THE KARMATIANS IN MULTAN—A. D. 970—1206.

The Karmatians.

As the Caliphate grew weaker, the tendency to schism in Persia and elsewhere increased, and in 891, one Abdulla

* A. D. 915-16 *Circ.*

† The position of Samand or Basmad is not known. The cantonment referred to was known as Jandrud, Jandrár, Jandur, &c. See Ell. i. 380

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(called ' Karmat ' from his using in confidential communications the minute Arabic writing so termed) came into notice as a follower of the Ismailians, one of the most dangerous of the Ali-ite sects in the East. This Abdulla started a doctrine that everything was allowable, and proceeded to carry out his views with violence. Syria was invaded, Basra and Kufa were taken, and even Mecca was pillaged, and the black stone removed. His followers were soon afterwards ignominiously defeated in Egypt and Irak, and appear gradually to have pushed themselves and their doctrines into the Indus Valley, where towards the end of the 10th century they seized Multán, destroyed the Hindu temple, and altered the site of the orthodox mosque. At that period a family of Lodi Patháns had obtained possession of the whole Punjáb frontier from a little south of Pesháwar to Multán, and the governors of this family seem shortly to have come under the Karmatian influence. Already owning a very loose allegiance to the Ghaznavide monarchs, they now became specially obnoxious to that zealous defender of the Faith, Mahmúd of Ghazni, who twice marched against them, and ultimately deported the governor Daud Lodi from Multán to Afghánistán. This Daud was shortly afterwards released by Mahmúd's successor Masaud, but Multán still continued to be steeped in heresy and we find among the Karmatians of the day a Rája of the native Sumra family, who appears to have enjoyed considerable power in the district. The country, however, remained nominally subject to the Ghaznavides, until they in their turn were overthrown by Muhammad Ghori, who in the course of his expeditions passed several times through Multán and on one occasion is recorded to have ' delivered that place from the hands of the Karmatians.' This is the last we hear of this sect in Multán which had been more or less in their hands for two centuries.

The result of the sectarian wars appears to have been unfavourable to the prosperity of the city and the district; for when the Gardezi Syads first immigrated to Multán in the reign of Sultán Bairám Shah (1118—1152) the city is said to have been utterly deserted. The Gardezi Syads—who, it may be noted, are to this day Shias—appear to have got possession of a good deal of land along the old course of the Rávi as far north as the middle of the Kabírwála tahsil and Sheikh Yusuf Gardezi, their chief, is the first of the great company of Muhammadan preachers of whom we hear so much in the next period.

Chronicle.

Circa 970 A. D.—Firishta says (Briggs i, 9) ' During the reign of the Samani kings the Afgháns formed a barrier between the kingdoms of Multán and Lahore, and thus we find the Samáni troops always limited their predatory excursions to Sind and Tatta. When the government of Ghazni devolved on Alaptagin, his general Sabuktagin

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frequently invaded the provinces of Multán and Laghman, carrying away its inhabitants as slaves in spite of the Afgháns. Jaipal, the Raja of Lahore, concerted measures with the Bhattia Rája to obtain the services of Sheikh Hamid, an Afghán, who, being appointed Governor of Multán and Laghman, placed garrisons of Afghán troops in those districts.'

976.—' On the death of Alaptagin, Sabuktagin succeeded to his power: and Sheikh Hamid, perceiving that his own country would, in all probability, suffer in the incursions with which Sabuktagin threatened India united himself with that prince. Sabuktagin from motives of policy avoided the district of Sheikh Hamid by every means in his power.' (Firishta, Briggs i, 9).

980.—The Karmatians under Jalam ibn Shaiban took Multán, destroyed the idol temple and built a new mosque in place of the old one. (Alb. Sach. i, 116).

1004. Mahmúd of Ghazni passed through the province of Multán on his way to Bhatia. The province of Multán appears to have extended up to the Salt Range, and Bhatia is supposed by Elliot to be Bhera (ii, 441). [Firishta Br. i, 38].

1005.—' Sheikh Hamid Lodi, the first ruler of Multán, had paid tribute (done homage) to Amir Sabuktagin, and after him his grandson Abul Fath Daud, the son of Nasir, the son of Hamid. Abul Fath Daud now having abandoned the tenets of the faithful had at this time shaken off his allegiance.' He obtained the assistance of Anandpal of Lahore who was, however, defeated by Mahmúd, who then ' entered Multán by the route of Bhatinda.' Mahmúd besieged Multán for seven days, but hearing of an invasion of Herát, retired after receiving the submission of Abul Fath. (Firishta i, 41). The Tarikhi Yamini says ' he took Multán by assault and treated the people with severity.' (Ell. ii, 32). The Kamil-ut-tawarikh (Ell. ii, 248), says the invasion was prompted by Abul Fath's inclination to heresy, and by his having induced the people of the country to follow his opinions: on hearing of Anandpal's defeat Abul Fath sent his property to Serandip and evacuated Multán. Mahmúd finding the people infatuated in this heresy besieged the place and took it by storm.

1010.—Mahmúd was under the necessity of marching to Multán which had revolted, and having cut off a number of the infidel inhabitants and brought Daud, the son of Nasir, to Ghazni, he confined him in the fort of Ghurak (or Tabrak) for life. (Firishta i, 50.)

Hamid Ulla says ' Mahmúd made war with Nawasa (the grandson), ruler of Multán: conquered that country: converted the people to Islàm: put to death the ruler of Multán, and entrusted the government of that country to another chief.' (Ell. iii, 65).

1011. Mahmúd after taking Thánesar retired from that country because he had not yet rendered Multán a province of his own government. (Firishta i, 52). The Geographer, Albiruni, seems to have spent some time in Multán at this period. (J.A.S.B. 1892, p. 187).

1024.—Mahmúd passed through Multán on his way to Somnáth *viá* Ajmer. He returned to Ghazni *viá* Sindh and Multán. (Firishta i, 69—78).

1027.—Mahmúd, in order to fight ' the Jats who lived in the Jud mountains ' (*i.e.*, probably the Salt Range) came to Multán, built a fleet of boats there and had a great naval battle with the Jats. (Firishta i, 82).

1030.—Masaud Ghaznavi released Daud. (Ell. i, 491). Masaud himself had at one time been Governor of Multán under his father. (Raverty Tab. Nas. 91).

1032.—In the sacred books of the Druses there is a curious letter written in 1032 by Baha-ud-din, the chief apostle of Hamza ' to the unitarians of Multán and Hindústán in general, and to Sheikh Ibn

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Sumar, Raja Bal in particular' bidding the latter 'arise and bring back Daud the younger into the true religion, for Masaud only delivered him from prison and bondage, that you might accomplish the ministry with which you were charged against Abdulla, his nephew, and all the inhabitants of Multán.' The letter would seem to show that the Sumras were powerful in Multán at the time and were Karmatians. (Ell. i, 491).

1042.—Nami, grandson of Mahmúd Ghaznavi, was made governor of Pesháwar and Multán: but Sultan Modud shortly afterwards sent a force to Multán against him, which attacked and slew him. (Firishta i, 116).

1049.—The Afgháns seized on the Indus Valley, but were defeated by Ali bin Rabbia, who came to Pesháwar from Ghazni, and 'having reduced Multán and Sindh, subdued by force of arms the Afgháns who had declared their independence in that country.' (Firishta i, 129).

1118.—Muhammad Balin, the rebellious viceroy of Sultan Bairam Ghaznavi, advanced to oppose the king as far as Multán. A battle ensued: but 'the curse of ingratitude fell like a storm on the head of the perfidious rebel, who in his flight, with his sons and attendants sank into a deep quagmire wherein they all perished.' (Firishta i, 151).

1175.—Shahab-ud-din Muhammad Ghori having conquered Gardez, led his forces to Multán and delivered that place from the hands of the Karmatians who had regained possession of it some years previously. (Ell. ii, 293, Tab. Nas. Firishta i, 157, Rav. Tab. Nas. 449).

1176.—He again subdued the province of Multán and marched against Uch. (Firishta i, 169).

1178.—He again passed through Multán and Uch on his way to Guzerát (Firishta i, 170).

1186.—Muhammad Ghori took Lahore and put it in charge of Ali Karmakh Wali of Multán. (Firishta i. 171, Rav. Tab. Nas. 454).

1192-93.—Hindústán having rebelled, Muhammad Ghori advanced to Lahore *viâ* Multán, where he conferred titles and offices on all who had been firm to his interest. (Firishta i, 174).

1203.—Muhammad Ghori was defeated in Túrkístán: then 'Aibak Bak, one of the most confidential servants of the State, an officer of high rank in the army, fled from the field of battle, and carried away the impression that by heavenly visitation the blessed person of the king had met with a misfortune and been slain. He fled with the speed of the wind to Multán, and on his arrival went immediately to Mir Dad Hasan, the lord of a standard,' (Raverty says Amir Dad, *i.e.*, Chief Justice, under Amir Muhammad. Governor of Lahore and Multán, Tab. Nas. 476), 'and told him that he had a private message from the king. Amir Dad Hasan retired with him into his closet where the assassin pretending to whisper into his ear, drew a dagger and stabbed him to the heart. He then ran instantly to the court-yard where he proclaimed aloud that he had killed the traitor Amir Daud in obedience to the king's command, and producing a false order and commission to assume the government, he was acknowledged by the army and the people.' (Taj-ul-Maasir. Ell. ii. 233, and Firishta i, 182). This led to an outbreak of the Khokhars who were then powerful between the Chenáb and the Salt Range, but 'Baha-ud-din Muhammad, Governor of Sangwan, with his brother who held lands (akta) within the borders of Multán, accompanied by many of the chief people of the city, marched out against them. Ultimately the Khokhars were thoroughly defeated on the Jhelum: but Muhammad Ghori was shortly afterwards (1205) assassinated by the Gakkhars, in the Ráwalpindi District.

THE MOGHAL INVASIONS—A. D. 1206—1528.

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In 1218 Chingiz invaded Western Turkestán, and for the next three centuries the history of Multán is practically the history of the incursions from Western and Central Asia to which the Moghal invasion of Chingiz gave rise.

The centre of Muhammadan authority in India during the period was Delhi, and the normal condition of Multán was that of nominal subjection to the Delhi kings, but twice during the period Multán was for all practical purposes a separate kingdom independent of Delhi, *viz.*, in 1210-1227, when the energetic Slave Governor, Nasir-ud-din Kubacha. ruled over Multán and Sindh, a l again in 1445-1527 when the Langáhs governed the district independently of the Delhi Emperors. At times, too, the province was held by vigorous governors who, though unable to secure independence, were powerful factors in the dynastic changes of the time. Such were Malik Kabir Khan, who in 1236 joined in the conspiracy to put Razia Begam on the throne; Bahram Abia or Kishlu Khan who, in 1321, acted as the right hand man of Ghias-ud-din Tughlak in the latter's successful usurpation; and Syad Khizr Khan, who marched to Delhi in 1414 and there founded the Syad dynasty which lasted 38 years. We get but little light from the historians as to the character of the government under each ruler, and the details given as regarding the various degrees of severity or ability with which sovereigns like Ala-ud-din Khilji, Ghias-ud-din Tughlak, and Feroz Shah Tughlak administered their empires, can scarcely be taken as applying in any completeness to territories so far from Delhi as Multán and Uch. We may take it as very probable that the interior administration of the district was equally neglected by all or nearly all the numerous governors and kings that ruled it, and that their attention was mainly fixed on repelling the hideous and incessant ravages of the Moghal hordes from Khurásán and Central Asia.

There is an oft-quoted passage in the poems of Amir Khusrau which indicates the manner in which these pagan invaders were viewed by the Moslems of India. 'There were more than a thousand Tatar infidels', he writes, 'and warriors of other tribes, riding on camels, great commanders in battle, all with steel-like bodies clothed in cotton; with faces like fire, with caps of sheep skin, with their heads shorn.' Their eyes were so narrow and piercing that they might have bored a hole in a brazen vessel. Their stink was more horrible than their colour. Their faces were set on their bodies as if they had no necks. Their cheeks resembled soft leather bottles, full of wrinkles and knots. Their noses extended from cheek to cheek, and their mouths from cheek bone to cheek bone. Their nostrils resembled rotten graves, and from

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them the hair descended as far as the lips. Their moustaches were of extravagant length. They had but scanty beards about their chins. Their chests of a colour half black, half white were so covered with lice that they looked like sesame growing on a bad soil. Their whole body indeed was covered with these insects, and their skin as rough and grainy as shagreen leather, fit only to be converted into shoes. They devoured dogs and pigs with their nasty teeth.'

Such were the Moghals as they first appeared to the nations of Hindustán. As time went on the invading armies became less strange, numbers of them from time to time settled down in the country, they had gradually mixed with the inhabitants of Irán and Turán; they had adopted the tenets of Islám, and ultimately when the last Central Asian invasion placed Babar on the throne, the invaders were little, if at all, less civilized than the nations which they invaded. Without attempting to enter into the controverted questions regarding the ethnological relationship of Turks, Moghals and Tartars, it will suffice for us to notice that at least ten important invasions of the southern Punjáb by these Central Asian hordes are recorded in the three centuries between 1221 and 1528. First there was the celebrated escape, described by Gibbon, of Jalal-ud-din Khwarizm Shah across the Indus pursued by the hosts of Chingiz, an episode which drew upon Multán the hostility both of pursuers and pursued (1221—1224). Then in 1239 another tribe, the Karlugh Turks, being ousted from Ghazni raided Multán, and were followed by a pursuing host of Moghals under Nuin Mungutah. In 1257 the Moghals under Nuin Saleh were treacherously invited to Multán to aid the local Governor in his intrigues, and were only dissuaded from wholesale massacre by a handsome bribe. In 1284 the Moghal raiders, under Timur Khan, defeated and killed the Prince Muhammad, known as the Martyr Prince, who then ruled in Multán. In 1305 an invasion under Aibak Khan was repelled by the redoubtable warrior Ghazi Beg Tughlak, who is said to have twenty-nine times defeated the invading hordes. In 1327 a force under Turmsharin Khan overran the district, and only retreated on payment of a bribe. In 1397 came Tamerlane himself, whose troops occupied Uch and Multan, sacked Tulamba, raided the Khokhars of the Rávi Valley and passed on across the Biás to Pákpattan and Delhi. In 1430 Shah Rukh, the grandson of Tamerlane, dispatched a force against the province, which had advanced to the very gates of the city before it was defeated. Then in 1524-25 we find the Arghun Turks, who had been driven from Kandáhár to Sindh, pressing up against the province, and after a long siege occupying and sacking the city. And finally, in 1528, came the peaceful transfer of the province to the emissaries of the last great invader, Babar. For three centuries this

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unhappy district bore the brunt of the great racial disturbances caused by the Central Asian upheavals. The difficulties of the Khaibar route and (for a great part of the time) the powerful hostility of the northern Gakkhars, drove the majority of the invading hosts to attempt the Multán route to Hindustán, a route which, while the Ghaggar and Sutlej still held their ancient courses, had much more to recommend it than in the centuries which followed. The Multán District, therefore, which in the ninth and tenth centuries constituted an outwork of Western Islám against Eastern Paganism, became in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the foremost barrier of Indian Muhammadanism against the paganism and barbarism which swept upon it from the West. That the district can have had any real prosperity during these prolonged periods of incessant raiding it is impossible to believe. The fact that an important commercial route ran through Multán gave a certain amount of intermittent prosperity to the city, but in the district there was probably little enough of cultivation, except in the strips of alluvial soil along the Chenáb, Biás and the Ghara.

As regards the races who cultivated the soil during these days of distress we have little or no information. Very few of the land-owning races of to-day can trace their advent to a period before the establishment of the Langáh power in the fifteenth century. With the exception of the Langáhs themselves and of the Biloch tribes which joined them we find no notice of any invaders settling down upon the soil. The tribes of Moghal or Turk origin who from time to time became domiciled in the country, must have become absorbed among the people and may be now represented by some of the numerous petty disjointed clans of the district which can give no account of their origin. The effect probably of the Moghal invasions was to break up and drive away the larger tribal units, especially on the western edge of the district, leaving the way open for the miscellaneous and haphazard colonization which forms the basis of the 'colluvies gentium' now presented to our eyes.

In one respect indeed the devastation of Khurásán and Western Irán was to the benefit of this part of India, for it led to the settling of a considerable number of pious and learned men, most of whom no doubt passed on towards Delhi but many of whom stayed to bless Multán with their presence. The preliminary disturbances of Ghori times had driven the Gardezi Syads to this district. A little later came a family of Kureshis from Khwarizm which settled at Kot Karor near Leiah and which gave birth to the famous Sheikh Baha-ud-din Zakaria or Bahawal Haqq, who, after traversing nearly the whole Muhammadan world, chose Multán as his place of residence. To Multán also about the same time came

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Pir Shams Tabrez from Sabzawar and Kazi Kutb-ud-din from Kashan; to Pákpattan came Baba Farid Shakarganj: to Delhi (by way of Multán) came Khwaja Kutb-ud-din Bakhtiar Kaki: and to Uch came Saiad Jalal, the founder of many sacred families in Multán, Muzaffargarh and Baháwalpur. In the same period arose Sakhi Sarwar, whose father had emigrated from Bukhára to Sakot in this district. These holy men, together with others too numerous to mention, would seem to have set themselves seriously to convert to Islám the remaining Hindu agriculturists and nomads of this part of India, and it is to their persuasion and reputation, rather than to the sword of any conqueror, that the people of the south-west Punjáb own their faith in Islám. The lukewarmness of the population in previous times was roused into a keen fervour by the pagan invasions: an emperor's tomb was granted as the resting place of the body of the Saint Rukn-i-Alam, and from this time forward the holy men and holy shrines of Multán bestowed upon the city a unique reputation throughout the whole Mussalman world.

Chronicle.

1210.—Malik Nasir-ud-din Kubachá,* one of the trained slaves of Muhammad Ghori, and son-in-law of Sultan Kutb-ud-din, marched towards Sindh, and seized Uch and Multán. (Firishta i. 203, Tab. Nas. Ell. ii, 301-2). He was 'a man of the highest intelligence, cleverness, experience, discretion and acumen.' He set himself up as an independent sovereign, and issued coins with bilingual Hindi and Arabic inscriptions. (Thomas Path. Kings. p. 100-1), and his power at one time extended from Sirhind to Sindh.

1221.—Jálal-ud-din Mankbarni, Khwarizm Shah, was pursued by the armies of Chingiz Khan to the banks of the Indus. Shortly afterwards the Moghal General Turtai advanced to Bhera and then to Multán, 'but as there were no stones there he ordered that the population of Bhera should be turned out to make floats of wood and load them with stones for the manjanicks. So they floated them down the river, and when they arrived at Multán, the manjanicks were set to work and threw down many ramparts of the fort, which was nearly taken, when the excessive heat of the weather put a stop to their operations.' (Jahankusha, Ell. ii. 392). The Rozat-us-safa says the Moghals were commanded by Bala Noyan, and that owing to the excessive heat 'the Multánis escaped from that Bala (calamity).' (Ell. ii, 559). The Ain-i-Akbari gives the name of the general as Turmatai Novian; and says he actually took Multán, but that Kubacha by opening his treasury repaired the disaster. (Jar. iii, 344. see also Rav. Tab. Nas. 535). Howorth says that the army was commanded by two generals, Bela and Durbai (Hist. Mong i, 90). Jalal-ud-din meantime found his progress opposed both by Shams-ud-din Altamsh in Hindustan and Nasir-ud-din in Multán; he accordingly joined with the Khokhars who were the enemies of the latter, and his general Uzbeg Pai fell suddenly on Nasir-ud-din at Uch. Kubacha fled to Bhakkar and then back to Multán, which Uzbeg Pai invested. Uzbeg Pai seems to have struck coins at Multán in anticipation of taking the city, (Thomas Path. Kings, p. 99), but the siege had to be raised. (Jahankusha; Ell. ii, 396-7). Jalal-ud-din passed through Multán territory again next year on his way to Sindh. (Do).

* The name is said to be derived from the Turkish *kuba*, a short coat.

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1224.—'After the victory of Nandana. Tari (or Toli, [or Turtai]), the Moghal prince came with a large army to the walls of the city of Multán and besieged that strong place for forty days. During this war and invasion Malik Nasir-ud-din opened his treasures and lavished them munificently among the people. He gave such proof of resolution energy, wisdom and personal bravery that it will remain on record till the day of judgment.' (Tab. Nas. Ell. ii, 303, and viii xviii). [Possibly this is the same siege as that of Turtai recorded above; the accounts of this period are somewhat confused.] Firishta iii, 420, says Chaghtai Khan commanded the siege in person.

1227.—Shams-ud-din Altamsh of Delhi besieged and took Uch; and Nasir-ud-din was drowned, or as some say drowned himself, in the Indus (Tab. Nas. Ell. ii, 304, iv, 146, Firishta i, 210, iii, 420). Multán fell into the hands of Shams-ud-din and a rare copper coin of this king records the fact of his rule in this city. (Thomas Path. Kings, p. 75). Malik Kabir Khan (also known as Izz-ud-din Ayaz) was made governor of Multán. (Raverty Tab. Nas. p. 725).

1236.—Multán was apparently again in a troubled state for Shams-ud-din was starting from Delhi to march against it when he died. (Firishta i, 211, others, *e.g.*, Raverty Tab., p. 623, read 'Banián' not 'Multán' in connection with this incident). Malik Kabir Khan, governor of Multán, in the same year joined in the conspiracy to put Razia Begam on the throne; he became governor of Lahore, and was succeeded by Malik Karakash at Multán, but in 1239 Multán was restored to him. (Firishta i, 214—220, Tab. Nas. Ell. ii, 335, Raverty, 644). He shortly afterwards rebelled, and according to a local history, Razia Begam marched on and took Multán, where she bestowed much alms on the poor and gave villages in mafi to the Kureshi and Gardezi families.

1239.—The Karlugh Turk, Saif-ud-din Hasan, was driven this year from Ghazni by the Moghals and seized Multán. (Thomas Path. Kings, p. 93). He coined money in his own name. (Raverty in J.A.S.B. 1892, p. 157).

Meantime Kabir Khan assumed sovereignty at Uch, and after his death in 1241, his son Taj-ud-din several times attacked the Karlughs before the gates of Multán. (Raverty Tab. Nas. 656).

1245.—A Moghal army under Muin Mangutah attacked Uch; Saif-ud-din fled from Multán to Sindh; but the Moghals retired on hearing that the Delhi troops had reached the Biás. (Raverty Tab. Nas. 1154, Firishta i, 231).

1246.—The Delhi authorities made an effort to stem the tide of the Moghal advance by appointing Malik Sher Khan-i-Sunkar to a large frontier government including Multán: which was taken from the Karlughs. (Firishta i, 235).

1249.—Malik Hasan Karlugh advanced from Banián; he himself was slain but the Karlughs under his son Nasir-ud-din Muhammad took Multán from Izz-ud-din Balban, who then held it. The Karlughs were very soon afterwards ousted by Sher Khan. (Raverty Tab. Nas. 684, 782—792).

1250.—Malik Izz-ud-din Balban, governor of Uch and Nagor, tried to take Multán from Sher Khan but failed. (Raverty J.A.S.B., 1892, p. 172). In the same year Akhtiyar-ud-din Kurez, who held Multán for Sher Khan, captured a number of Moghals and sent them to Delhi. (Raverty Tab. Nas. 688).

About this period the Sultan Nasir-ud-din visited Multán at least once, and, as usual, showed great respect to the sacred families. (Firishta i, 238-9).

1254.—An insurrection in Sindh caused the loss of several forts in Multán, and Sher Khan was disgraced. Next year Izz-ud-din Balban was made governor of Multán. (Firishta i, 240, Raverty J.A.S.B. 1892, 173).

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1257.—Izz-ud-din treacherously invited the Moghals; and Nuin Saleh, having arrived at Uch, sent a force against Multán. Multán was delivered to the Moghals and the defences of the citadel were destroyed. The Saint Bahawal Haqq had to pay down 100,000 dinars to save the place from being sacked, and one Chinghiz Khan was made Hákim of Multán. (Raverty J.A.S.B. 892, 175, Tab. Nas. 844 and 1201). D'Ohsson relates that the Moghals retired on hearing of the approach of Muhammad Sultan of Delhi, and adds that during the reign of Sultan Bahu (Balban 1265-87) Multán became the asylum of many Persian princes whose realms had been invaded by the Moghals (Hist. des Mongols, iv, 559).

1270.—Prince Muhammad, son of Ghias-ud-din Balban, was made governor of Multán. He twice invited Sheikh Saadi of Shiraz to his court at Multán, but the invitation was declined on the plea of age. The prince's intention was to build a Khankah for him in Multán, and to endow it with villages for his maintenance. Sheikh Saadi sent him a Gulistán and a Bostán written with his own hand; and Saadi's popularity in India dates from this event. (Firishta i, 259, Tar. Fir. Shahi, Ell. iii, 110). It is stated that although the prince was a noted patron of poets, he was on bad terms with Sheikh Sadr-ud-din, son of Bahawal Haqq.

1284.—The Moghals under Timur Khan invaded Lahore and Dipálpur and were met by Prince Muhammad 'on the banks of the river of Lahore* which runs through part of the Multán province. The Moghals were routed, but Muhammad while isolated from his followers was surprised and slain (the incident led to his being known afterwards as the Khán-i-Shahid or Martyred Prince). Among the captives taken by the Moghals was the poet Amir Khusrau. (Firishta i, 269). The son of the deceased prince, Kai Khusru, succeeded his father in the Government of Multán. (Firishta i, 269).

1288 Circa.—Malik Jalal-ud-din Firoz, afterwards Sultán, was made governor of Multán. in order that he might preclude the possibility of any invasion by the Moghals. (Wassaf in Ell. iii, 38). In 1290 Firoz advanced to Delhi and seized the throne.

1292.—Arkali Khan, son of Sultan Firoz, was made governor of Multán. On Firoz's assassination in 1295, his family fled to Multán for protection against Firoz's nephew Ala-ud-din Khilji. The latter, however, sent 40,000 horse after them who besieged Multán for two months, until the citizens and troops betrayed the princes into their hands. (Firishta i, 325). Sheikh Rukn-ud-din, grandson of Bahawal Haqq, is said to have interceded for them, but on their arrival at Delhi they were blinded and imprisoned. Nasrat Khan was made governor of Multán, and he shortly afterwards defeated an invasion of the Moghals from Sevistan.

1305.—The Moghals under Kubák or Aibak Khan, an officer of Dua, the Chaghatai Khan of Máwarulnahr, ravaged Multán; they were defeated by Ghazi Beg Tughlak and perished miserably in the deserts. (Firishta i. 363. D'Ohsson, iv, 561). See also Oliver in J.R.A.S., 1888, p. 99.

1321.—When Ghazi Beg of Lahore revolted, Moghaltagin, governor of Multán, jealous of precedence, refused to join him; he was accordingly cut off by Bahram Abia, 'a Moghal chief of some note in that quarter.' (Firishta i, 397). Ghazi Beg then usurped the power at Delhi under the name of Ghias-ud-din. He is said to have inscribed on the Jama Masjid at Multán the words, 'I have encountered the Tartars on twenty-nine occasions and defeated them: hence I am called Malik-ul-Ghazi.' (Thomas Path. Kings, p. 192 Ell. iii. 606). He is said to have left one Taj-ud-din as his governor at Multán.

*Probably the Rávi, but possibly the Biás, see Ell. iii, 520.

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1327.—A Moghal force under Turmushrin Khan subdued Multán, but was bribed by Muhammad Tughlak to withdraw. (Firishta i, 413).

1334.—Ibn Batuta of Tangiers arrived in Multán from Uch. He gives the following account of his journey:—

'From Uch I went to Multán. The city is the capital of Sindh and the Amir-ul-umara of the province lives there. Ten kos on this side one has to cross a river which is narrow and deep and impassable except by boats. Here travellers are interrogated and their property examined. At that time every merchant had to pay a fourth of his merchandise as toll as well as 7 dinárs per horse. Two years after I reached Hindústán the king abolished all this toll; and when the country was under the Abasside Caliph there had been no dues except the usar and zakát. I dreaded the examination of merchandise for my packages though containing little enough looked large, and I feared lest the whole should be opened: but Kutb-ul-Mulk sent a military officer from Multán with orders that my baggage should not be searched, for which I thanked God. We stopped that night on the river bank and early in the morning there came to me one Dahkán Samarkandi, a postal officer, who was the king's news-writer. After meeting him I went in his company to the ruler of Multán who in those days was Kutb-ul-Mulk, a great and accomplished ruler. When I came to him he got up to greet me and gave me a place at his side. I offered as presents a slave, a horse, and raisins and almonds; these last do not grow in that country and are imported as curiosities from Khurásan. The Amir sat on a raised platform covered by a carpet and by him sat Salar, the Kazi of the city, and a Khatíb whose name I forget. To the right and left were the military officers and behind him stood armed men, while the army marched past in front. A number of bows were lying there, and any one in the army who wished to display his skill in archery took up a bow and drew it, and if any one wished to display his skill in horsemanship, he ran his lance at a small drum that was attached to a low wall, or played *Chaughan* with a ball that was lying there. Men were promoted according to the skill shown by them on these occasions. When we had saluted Kutb-ud-din as I have described, he ordered that we should reside in the city with the dependents of Sheikh Rukn-ud-din, Kureshi, the rule being that the Sheikh could not entertain strangers without the governor's permission. Delhi is 40 days' march from Multán and there is cultivation all the way.'

Ibn Batuta says that he went to Delhi *viâ* Abohar, Abibakhar, Pákpattan and Sarusti, but if the Abohar mentioned is the Abohar of the Ferozepore District he has apparently forgotten the order of the towns. In another place also however (the passage quoted below) he has put Abohar near Multán, and possibly some site now disappeared is referred to. Abibakhar is not known, unless it is (as tentatively suggested by M. Muhammad Hussain) the shrine of Abubakar at Dhillun in Mailsi.

1340.—Muhammad Tughlak sent orders to Bahram Abia, governor of Multán (also known as Kishlu Khan) to have families removed forcibly to the new capital of Daulatábád in the Deccan, but the messenger, using insolent language, had his head cut off. Muhammad Tughlak defeated Bahram, and ordered a general slaughter of the inhabitants of Multán, which was only averted by the prayer of the saint Rukn-i-Alam, who came bareheaded to the king's court and stood before him soliciting pardon for the people. (Firishta i, 421, Ell. iii, 242, vii, 136).

Ibn Batuta, however, a more trustworthy authority, gives a different account. He says that Muhammad having flayed his nephew and sent his remains round the kingdom *in terrorem*, Kishlu Khan, governor of Multán, buried them: whereon Muhammad advanced against him. Battle was fought 'two days journey from Multán in the desert plain of Abohar', in which Kishlu Khan was killed. Muhammad then

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took Multán, flayed the Kázi and suspended Kishlu's head over the gate of the city. 'I saw it there,' says the traveller, 'when I arrived in Multán.' (Ibn Batuta, Ell. iii, 616). In this campaign the family of Bahawal Haqq sided with the king and were rewarded with 100 villages (see Muhammad Hussain, Ibn Batuta, p. 153). If Ibn Batuta is correct the date of the rebellion given in Briggs' Firishta (1340) must be wrong as Ibn Batuta seems to have been in Multán once only, *viz.*, in 1334.

1341.—Bahzad Khan, governor of Multán, was defeated by some Afghans under Shahu, who 'poured down like a torrent on Multán,' and took the city. On the approach of the Delhi army the Afgháns retreated. (Firishta i, 425, Tar. Fir. Shah, Ell. iii, 244).

1351.—Sultan Firoz who succeeded to the throne when he was in Sindh marched to Delhi *viá* Multán and when in Multán behaved very liberally to the Sheikhs of the city. (Shams-i-Siraj. Ell. iii, 282).

1359.—Tatar Khan was made Shikkdar (governor) of Multán (Ell. iv, 9). During this reign the converted Hindu Makbul, afterwards the Wazir Khan Jahan, and Ain Mahru, known as Ain-ul-Mulk, seem to have been governors of Multán. (Ell. iii, 368—370). Afterwards the governors seem to have been Malik Mardan, Malik Shaikh, Malik Sulaiman and Khizr Khan, all of a Syad family. (Ell. iv. 46).

1396.—Sárang Khan, governor of Dipálpur, attacked Khizr Khan, and with the aid of Malik Mardan Bhatti seized the Shikk (province) of Multán. He then advanced against Delhi but was defeated and retired to Multán. (Firishta i. 482, Tar. Mb. Sh. Ell. iv. 32).

1397.—Pir Muhammad Jahángir, grandson of Tamerlane, invested Uch, and when Sárang Khan sent troops against him he advanced to the Biás and fell on the Multánis by surprise just after they crossed the river (apparently at a place called Tamtama or Tantana). He pursued them to Multán, which he invested for six months, so that therein 'nothing eatable, not even a rat or a mouse, remained alive.' At last Sárang capitulated, but meantime the excessive rains had caused a serious mortality among the horses of the besieging army, so that they had to shift their quarters from the camp into the city. The neighbouring zamindars seeing this began to get restive. (Fi. 482. Malf-i-Tim. Ell. iii, 399—417. Rav. J.A.S.B. 1892, 181, 279).

Meantime Tamerlane marching from the north encamped outside Tulamba (October 13th, 1398). After chastising some zamindars in the neighbourhood and seizing a large number of cattle he passed on leaving the fort uncaptured. He then halted at Jál (or, it may be, at a 'chál' or lake) on the Biás 'opposite Shahpur,' from which he marched out with a flying column to chastise Nusrat Khokhar, who was encamped in swampy ground on the bank of a lake. The 'unsanctified Indians' being defeated and 'the God-forsaken Nusrat' being slain, the army moved to Shahnawaz, a populous village on the Biás, 'where there was a great quantity of grain stored up.' On the 26th October, says Tamerlane, 'I set out from Shahnawaz on my return to the baggage and pitched my camp on the bank of the river Biyah, opposite to Janjan, and gave orders that all my whole army and baggage should cross the river to Janjan (or Khanjan) and that they should set up my tent on a little eminence outside the town at the foot of which was a verdant garden.' At this place (which is stated to have been 40 kos from Multán, Rav., p. 283) Pir Muhammad, marching out from Multán, joined Tamerlane's army, and as the rains had killed his horses so that the soldiers went either on foot or bullocks, 30,000 new horses were provided for him. Leaving Janjan, Tamerlane marched to Sihwal: then on 3rd November to Arwán, then to Jahwál from which he passed on through Pákpattan to the conquest of Delhi.* (Malf. Tim. Ell. iii, 413—420; Zafarn. Ell. iii, 484-6; Fir.

* Except Tulamba, none of the places in this district mentioned by Tamerlane are, so far as is known, identifiable.

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i, 487, Rav. J.A.S.B. 1892, 280—285). On his return from Delhi through the Punjáb Tamerlane appointed Khizr Khan to be governor of Multán. (Malf. Ell. iii, 475).

1405.—The Delhi forces marched against Khizr Khan. 'At Tulamba they were opposed by Rai Daud, Kamal Khan Mai, and Rai Habbu, the son of Rai Ratti, chiefs in the northern provinces, who were defeated.' Near Pákpattan, however, on November 18th, Khizr Khan was victorious, and in 1414 he seized on the power at Delhi, founding the dynasty of the Syads. (Fir. i, 501).

1427.—Death of Malik Ala-ul-Mulk, Amir of Multán (Ell. iv, 59).

1429.—Malik Rajah Nadira, Amir of Multán, died and the fief was restored to Malik Mahmud Husain, Imad-ul-Mulk, who was sent to Multán from Delhi with a large army. (Tar. Mub. Shah. Ell. iv, 67, Fir. i, 524).

1430.—Sheikh Ali, governor of Kábul, on behalf of Shah Rukh Mirza, son of Tamerlane, advanced against Multán. Imad-ul-Mulk went out to Tulamba to oppose him, and Sheikh Ali moved off to Khatibpur. On May 8th Imad returned to Multán and Sheikh Ali crossed the Rávi and laid all waste along the bank of the joint Jhelum-Chenáb. (Firishta says the Rávi). At a kos distance from Multán he defeated and killed Sultan Shah Lodi who was sent against him, and on the 27th May he occupied Khairábád 'within six miles of Multán.' On June 18th a fight took place in the gardens outside Multán in which he was repulsed; and two days later he was again driven back. A reinforcement of royal troops came up, and on Friday, July 25th, 'approaching the prayer-house (namazgah) endeavoured to enter the kútela of Ala-ul-Mulk.' Sheikh Ali opposed them and a great battle ensued in which he was defeated and driven across the river (said to be the Jhelum, but either the Chenáb and Rávi is meant) towards Shorkot.

The Delhi authorities getting jealous of Imad had him recalled and the 'ikta' or fief of Multán was transferred to Malik Khair-ud-din Khani. The transfer was inconsiderately carried out and this led to troubles. (Tab. Akb. and Tar. Mub. Sh. Ell. iv, 70—72. Fir. i, 525—6).

1431.—Sheikh Ali was induced by Jasrath Khokhar to attack Multán again. After taking Khatibpur he reached Tulamba and sacked the town ruthlessly. He does not however seem to have advanced further. (Ell. iv, 73).

1432.—Saiad Mubarak Shah, Sultan of Delhi, advanced from the Montgomery district in pursuit of Sheikh Ali, and after crossing the Rávi near Tulamba put him to flight. (Tar. Mub. Shah Ell. iv, 77, Fir. i, 528). After taking Shorkot the king made a detour to Multán to visit the tombs of the saints. (Fir. i, 529). In 1435 his successor, Muhammad Shah, paid Multán a visit for a similar purpose. (Tab. Akb. Ell. iv, 84). Shortly after this Bahlol Lodi seems to have been governor of Multán. (Ain. Jar. ii, 388).

1437.—Disturbances arose in Multán owing to the discontent of the Langáhs who are represented by Firishta as a Pathán tribe recently arrived from Sibi (Ell. iv, 85. Fir. iv, 380). Their then habitat was Rapri (Cf. Ell. v, 306).

1443.—Tired of anarchy the people of Multán selected a ruler 'one Sheikh Yusaf, a man of learning, wisdom and high character' of the tribe of Koresh (a descendant of Bahawal Haqq), and 'the public prayers were read, and money coined, in his name.' 'The prince fully repaid their confidence by reorganising the government and gaining the esteem and friendship of the surrounding zámíndárs.'

1445.—Rai Sahra, Langáh, father-in-law of Sheikh Yusaf, seized Multán and drove out Sheikh Yusaf to Delhi. The story of how he came to see his daughter in the town, and how having drunk duck's

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blood and taken an emetic he induced his son-in-law to let in some of his own people to tend him is given at length in Firishta iv, 381—2. Rai Sahra assumed the title of Kutb-ud-din Langáh and reigned till 1469 (see Firishta; the names and dates in the Ain-i-Akbari differ somewhat, see Ain. Jar. ii, 234-5).*

1469.—Husain Khan Langáh, son of Kutb-ud-din, succeeded. He attacked and took Shorkot and Chiniot; also the country round Kot Kahror and Dinkot, which he colonized with Dodai Beloches, who, being pressed by the Moghals in Kachi and Sindh, now appear for the first time in India. (Fir. iv, 386. J.A.S.B. 1848, ii, 560). His brother Shahab Din rebelled in Kahror but was taken and imprisoned. Then the Delhi troops advanced in aid of the exiled Sheikh Yusaf and had nearly reached Multán when Husain Khan, 'crossing the Indus', threw himself into the fort and routed the invaders, driving them towards Chiniot. About this time, too, a number of Sahnas emigrated from Sindh to Multán, (Fir. iv, 387-8) and one of them called Jam Bayazid was granted Shorkot (*cf.* Punjáb N. and Q. iii, 215).

1480 Circa—One historian relates that in the reign of Bahlol Khan Lodi of Delhi the Delhi troops marched through Multán to chastise a rebel called Ahmad Bhatti, but this is not mentioned in most histories. (Ell. v, 5). About this time, however, the Bhattis of Jesalmir established themselves between the Sutlej and the Biás (and even as far as Asinikot beyond the Biás) and were in constant conflict with the Langáhs, Khichís, Joyás and other tribes of that region. Rawal Chachik of Jesalmir was killed in a great fight with the Langáhs near Dunyapur. (Tod Rájasthán, Calc. edn. 1894, ii, 110—113).

1483.—A treaty was made between Husain Khan and Sikandar Khan Lodi of Delhi. (Fir. iv, 389).

1500 Circa.—Firishta tells a story regarding the envoy whom Husain Khan sent to Ahmadábád and who said that the whole revenues of Multán could not build a palace like that at Ahmadábád. The prime minister consoled Husain Khan by saying that 'though India might be the country of riches yet Multán could boast in being a country of men.' Among the literary men of Multán he proceeded to enumerate 'Sheikh Yusaf Koreshi, Sheikh Baha-ud-din Zakaria, and others brought up in the philosophic school of Haji Abdul Wahab, besides Fatteh-Ulla and his disciple Aziz-Ulla, both inhabitants of Multán, and who had each thousands of disciples.' Husain Khan shortly afterwards resigned in favour of his son Firoz, but Firoz was poisoned by his minister, and Husain again assumed power. (Fir. iv, 389—391).

1502.—Husain ousted his minister Imad-ul-Mulk in favour of Jam Bayazid Sahna, and soon after died. (Fir. iv, 391; others put his death in 1497 or 1498.) His successor Mahmud was 'young and foolish withal,' and complaints were made to him that Jam Bayazid transacted public business at his private house on the bank of the Chenáb and insulted the dignity of revenue collectors. Jam Bayazid's son attempted to assassinate the king, and then fled with his father to Shorkot, where they submitted to the Delhi Lodis. A treaty was made by which the Rávi was recognized as the boundary between the Delhi and Multán kingdoms. (Fir. iv, 393-5, Tab. Akb. Ell. v, 469).

1520 Circa.—Mir Chakar Rind, the famous Biloch Chief, tried to get a footing in Multán but was opposed by Sohrab Dudai and went on to Shorkot. (Tab. Akb. Ell. v, 470, Fir. iv, 396). About this time Shiism is said to have been introduced to Multán by Mir Imad Gardezi —others say Mir Shahdad, son of Mir Chakar. (Do.)

1524.—The Arghun Turks who had been driven out of Kandáhár were induced by Babar to attack Multán and advanced to the Ghara.

* Mr. Dames in the Punjab Notes and Querries ii, 514, observes that there are apparently no coins of the Langáh dynasty extent.

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Sheikh Baha-ud-din Koreshi was sent from Multán to dissuade them but failed. The Langáh army composed largely of 'Biloches, Jats, Rinds and others' marched out, but at Beg, one or two marches from Multán, Sultan Mahmud died suddenly, probably poisoned either by Sheikh Suja Bukhari, his minister, or by Langar (or Lashkar) Khan, a man of note. (Fir. iv, 39, Ersk. B and H. 456. Tab. Akb. Ell. v, 471. Tarkhannama. Ell. v, 314). Mahmud appears before his death to have sworn fealty to Babar (Fir. iv, 435).

His son Sultan Husain, a minor, succeeded him, and Sheikh Baha-ud-din seems to have persuaded the Arghuns to retire, leaving the Ghara as the boundary. (Ersk. Bab. and Hum., 391).

1525.—Anarchy prevailed in Multán. 'The leading chiefs and nobles retired each to his own tribe or jagir and strengthened himself there.' Langar Khan induced the Arghuns once more to attack Multán and the place was besieged. The besieged were reduced to great straits through the incapacity and rapacity of Shuja, the minister, and his factotum Jadah (or Juma) Machhi. (Ersk. 394).

1527.—After the siege had lasted for a year and some months, the Arghuns took the fort by assault: 'having broken down the Lahore gate with axes and hammers.' Almost every one was massacred and even such as fled to the 'convent of the Sheikhs' did not escape, for this also was plundered and set on fire after being drenched in blood. The historians have preserved several detailed accounts of this siege (see Erskine 395—6. Fir. iv, 399. Tab. Akb. Ell. v, 472—5).

Shams-ud-din who was left by the Arghuns with 600 men in charge of Multán committed great cruelties to extort money. Langar Khan on the other hand did his best to rebuild the desolated city, but had soon to retire in disgust to Babar at Lahore. (Ersk. 398).

1528.—Some 15 months after the Arghuns took possession, a popular insurrection under one Shamsher Khan expelled Shams-ud-din. The Arghuns then resigned the province to Babar, who sent his son Askari with Langar Khan to take it over (Ersk. 398).

THE MOGHAL EMPERORS—A. D. 1528—1752.

The Moghal Emperors.

Under the strong, centralized Government of the greater Moghal Emperors, Multán at last enjoyed a long period of peace, and it obtained in the documents and coins of the period the standing title of 'Dár-ul-aman' (the seat of safety). It may be said that for two hundred years, from 1548 to 1748, there was no warfare in this part of the Punjáb, a rebel or a fugitive prince once or twice flitted through the district, bringing no doubt a certain amount of temporary depredation in his train, but the country as a whole had settled down to peace. The cultivation probably remained as before for the most part confined to the riverain lands; the area immediately around and north of Multán was (for some reason not ascertained) available for settlers in Shah Jehan's reign and was colonized by men from all parts of north-western India, but there was probably no very great extension of cultivation, and the figures for the provincial revenue, so far as we can follow them, do not indicate any very large development. The people, however, had peace and their status must in many ways have improved. Commerce at any rate seems to have flourished, and Multán itself became a noted emporium for trade between Hindostán and the Persian Empire. The city became the headquarters of a province,

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which covered the whole of the south-western Punjáb, and at times included also the whole of Sindh. The governors seem as a whole to have been intelligent and well behaved, and the province—involving as it sometimes did the command of armies on the Kandáhár frontier—was often confided to princes of the Royal House.

Even when the Moghal power began to fall to pieces Multán at first escaped much of the devastation which visited other parts of India. The route to Delhi by Bhatinda and Abohar was now too dry for armies and the high road to Delhi from the west no longer lay through Multán but through Lahore. The armies of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali, with their awful attendant evils, left Multán unscathed, and it was only from minor and subsidiary contentions that this district suffered. In the later days of the empire, and more especially when the trans-Indus tracts had been cut off by Nadir Shah, the Multán province became by degrees an appendage of Lahore. As the central power weakened, the government became more and more a government by contract, a money-making concern: it got into the hands of Hindus, and it is to the Hindu instinct that we owe the origin of those local farmings of revenue, which in turn led to that development of canal irrigation, that forms the one bright spot amid the general confusion of the succeeding period before the days of Diwan Sawan Mal.

Chronicle.

1528—1530.—Langar Khan, governor of Multán.

1530.—On Babar's death Mirza Kamran obtained the Punjáb and recalled Langar Khan to Lahore.

1540.—Humayun, in his retreat from India, marched from Lahore into the territories of Bakhshu Khan Langáh. To propitiate this chief Humayun gave him the title of Khan Jahan, and Bakhshu Khan, though not attending the camp himself, gave all assistance to Humayun to help him to cross the Ghara. (Ersk. Bab. and Hum. ii, 208).

1541.—Multán passed with Lahore into the hands of Sher Shah, Afghan. This sovereign is said to have erected three tiled mosques in Multán, *viz.*, at the shrines of Bahawal Haqq, Rukn-i-Alam and Shah Yusaf, Gardezi.

1542.—Humayun in his wanderings came from Bhakkar to Uch, but Bakhshu Khan Langáh put such obstacles in his way that he had to retire to Bikanir territory. (Ersk. ii, 238).

1543 Circa.—The Biloches had meantime continued their incursions, the Mazaris reached Tulamba and Mír Chakar Rind settled down at Satgara in Montgomery. Sher Khan sent Haibat Khan Niazi, governor of Lahore, against Chakar, and according to Biloch legend, Haibat having killed Chakar's son, roasted his ribs. Chakar, however, is said to have marched on Multán and thence to Sitpur; and legend (here at fault) says that Haibat was killed and his head made into a drinking cup. (Dames Belochi Text Book Stories, pp. 10-12. Temple's Legends of the Punjab, ii, 491).

One Fath Khan Jat, who was in rebellion at Pákpattan, was also attacked by Haibat and his Afghans. He fled to a mud fort between Kahror and Fattehpur, when he held out for some time with the help

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of Hindu Khan, Biloch, and Bakhshu Khan Langáh, but the fort was at last captured. Haibat Khan, on reaching Multán, restored it from the devastation done by the Bilochis, and was ordered by Sher Shah to 'repeople Multán and to observe the customs of the Langáhs and not to measure the land but to take a share of the produce.' Fatteh Jang Khan was left in charge of Multán and under his benevolent rule Multán flourished more than under the Langáhs. He founded Shergarh. (Tar. Sher Shah, Ell. iv, 398-9). [Local Legend says that Malik Fatu'l Khan Joya, chief of Fattehpur, refused to pay his revenue to the Suba of Khai called Ali Husain who lived at Shitabgarh. Ali Husain attacked him and they met in single combat at Halim Khichi, and Ali Husain was killed. Another story locates the combat at Fattehpur and says that both were killed.]

About 1554 the Turkish Admiral Sidi Ali passed through Multán on his way from Uch to Lahore. In his Mirat-ul-Mamalik he wrote: 'In the beginning of Ramzan we came to the river Kara, or Kere, which we crossed by means of a raft. The people of Sindh gave us permission to proceed as far as the Machvara and the river was crossed by boats. On the other side we found 500 Jats awaiting us, but our fire-arms frightened them and they did not attack. We advanced unmolested and reached the town of Multán on the 15th of Ramzan. In Multán I only visited the graves of the Sheikhs Baha-ud-din Zakaria, Rukn-ud-din and Sadr-ud-din. I received a blessing from Sheikh Muhammad Radyja and after receiving permission to continue my journey from Sultan Miran Mirza Hussain, we proceeded towards Lahore.' (Vambery's Translation, p. 45). [The Kara is apparently the Ghára or Sutlej and if so the Machvara must be the Biás].

1556—1605.—Reign of Akbar. We have some passing notices of the persons in power in Multán during this reign. In 1561, on the defeat of Bahram, Multán was given in jagir to Muhammad Kasim Khan of Nishapur (Ain. i, 353). In 1570 Khan Jahan Lodi was made governor (do. i, 503). Some time before 1577, Syad Khan Chaghatai was governor (do. i, 331). Between 1580 and 1588 Sadik Khan was made governor (do. i, 356). In 1586, Khwaja Abdussamad was made Diwan (do. i, 495). In 1591, Khan-i-Khanan's jagir was transferred to Multán (do. i, 335), and in 1593, Multán, 'which is more than Kandáhár,' was given in jagir to Mirza Rustam Safawi. (do. i, 314). In 1593, Mirza Jani Beg got the Suba of Multán as tayul (do. i, 363), and in 1596, Muhammad Aziz Koka got Multán in jagir (do. i, 327) In 1602, Syad Khan Chaghatai was appointed to the province of Multán (do. i, 332). Multán in Akbar's time had a silver and copper mint (do. i, 31).*

In 1573, the family of Mirzas, sons of Muhammad Sultan Mirza, rebelled against Akbar and passed through the Punjáb towards Multán. Near Tulamba Ibrahim Husain Mirza, while returning from hunting, was attacked by the royal troops and his brother taken prisoner. Ibrahim Husain retired, and in trying to pass the Ghara was wounded in the throat with an arrow by certain Jhils [Jhabels] 'who are fishermen dwelling about Multán.' He was taken prisoner and carried to Multán. (Tab. Akb. Ell. v, 355, Ain. i. 463).

1605—1627.—Reign of Jahangir. In 1619 apparently Khan Jahan was made governor of Multán. (De Laet. Ind. 240. *cf.* Herbert's Trav., Ed. 1628, p. 90). In 1614 the Englishmen Still and Growther passed through Multán on their way from Ajmir to Ispahan. (Wheeler's Early Travs., 63).

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* The British Museum contains the following Moghal coins of the Multán Mint: Akbar, copper A. H. 1000; Shahjahan, gold 1068; silver 1039, 1040, 1042, 1043, 1045, 1048. Aurangzeb, gold, 1075, 1077; silver 1070, 1073, 1076; Farrukh Siyar, silver, 1125, 1126, 1130.

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1627—1658.—Reign of Shah Jahan. At first Kilij Khan was governor. When he was transferred to Kandáhár, Multán was given in jagir to Shahzada Murad Bakhsh, who built the present city walls and the bridge outside the Lohari Gate, and who colonized and brought under cultivation a great deal of land in the neighbourhood. When he was transferred to the Deccan, Nijabat Khan, a mild and popular governor, came to Multán as subadar. After this Multán was given in jagir to Prince Aurangzeb, and in his time (1648) Kandáhár being taken by the Persians certain Saddozai exiles came and settled in Multán and Rangpur. Prince Aurangzeb is said to have repaired the tombs of Zainulab-din at Sakot and Khalik Wali at Khatti Chor. After this Multán became part of the jagir of Dara Shekoh for a year and a half, but was again transferred to Aurangzeb. While Aurangzeb was occupied in the siege of Kandáhár (1652), Multán was again given to Dara, who appointed Sheikh Musa Gilani as his Naib. In 1658 came the illness of the Emperor Shah Jahan, the defeat of Dara near Agra and the assumption of the sovereignty by Aurangzeb.

The Augustinian friar Manrique seems to have visited Multán twice during Shah Jahan's reign. (Itinerario, p. 378).

1658—1707.—Reign of Aurangzeb. Dara Shekoh, fleeing from Lahore before Aurangzeb, came to Multán for a few days (5th to 13th September 1658), put his treasure on boats and marched himself by land to Uch, intending to go to Kandáhár. He broke down behind him the bridges (probably boat bridges) on the Biás and Sutlej.* The vanguard of Aurangzeb's army sent out parties to Dunyápur, to see that Dara had not fled to Ajmir, but when it was clear he had escaped to Bhakkar, Saf Shikan Khan was sent in pursuit and Aurangzeb himself stayed at Multán. On 25th September 1658 the Emperor's camp was pitched three miles from the city at the place where the Chenáb and Rávi met and a day or two afterwards he paid his respects to the shrines. Sheikh Musa Gilani was dismissed and Lashkar Khan, governor of Kashmir, was transferred to Multán, Khan Alim acting as Naib till Lashkar Khan should arrive. After staying five days, Aurangzeb heard of the movements of Shuja Khan in Bengal, and at once marched back to Delhi. (Alamgirnama, pp. 200 *seqq*. Khafi Khan, Ell. vii, 232. Dow iii, 252).

After two years Lashkar Khan gave place to Tarbiat Khan, and he afterwards to Saif Khan. Multán then became jagir to Prince Muhammad Azam, who stayed here a long time and seems to have made a good governor: he is said to have been accustomed to go in disguise through the city at night like Harun-al-rashid. After him the jagir went to Prince Muhammad Akbar. Then the Subadari was held jointly by Allayar Khan and Karam Khan. In 1694—95 Muizz-ud-din, afterwards Jahandar Shah, grandson of Aurangzeb, was governor and seems to have been fairly active. He refused to help the Daudputras of Baháwalpur on their opposition to the governor of Sindh. (Irvine in J.A.S.B. 1896, pp. 176 and 208. Shahamat Ali Bahawalp. and Mult., p. 16).

1707—1719.—Reigns of Bahadur Shah, Jahandar Shah and Farrukh Siyar. In 1712 Jahandar Shah is said to have appointed the dancer Niamat to be governor of Multán: the Wazir demanded in mockery a nazrána of 1,000 guitars and the Emperor cancelled the appointment. (Irvine in J.A.S.B. 1896, p. 167. The story is somewhat differently told in Shafi Khan, Ell. vii, 432).

Under Jahandar Shah Kokaltash Khan (Ali Murad) is said to have been Governor, with Sher Afghan as his Deputy.

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* There is a local tradition at Shújátpur in the Shújábád tahsíl that when Dara Shekoh had passed the bridge over the Biás there the inhabitants broke it down behind him to aid him in his flight and were consequently severely punished by Aurangzeb.

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Under Farrukh Siyar the following were Subadars of Multán, *viz.*,—Nawáb Khan Zaman, Sher Afkan Khan, Akidat Khan; and Sayad Husain Khan. Sher Afkan Khan seems to have been only the Deputy of Kutbul Mulk, the Wazir. (Irvine in J.A.S.B. 1898, p. 156).

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1719—1748.—Reign of Muhammad Shah. The following were Subadars:—(1) Sher Afkan Khan, Izzuddaula. (2) Bakir Khan who built the Bakirabad mosque which stands near the Lahore road about two miles N.E. of the city. (3) Sayad Hasan Khan. (4) Sher Afkan again. (5) Nawab Abbussamad Khan Turani; he held both Lahore and Multán, and built the Idgah. (6) On his death in 1735 his son Zakaria Khan (known as Khan Bahadur Khan) was granted both Subas, and lived sometimes in one, sometimes in the other. In his time all the Trans-Indus part of the Multán province was transferred from the Delhi Empire to that of Nadir Shah. (7) On his death his son Hyat-ulla Khan, known as Shahnawaz Khan, who had previously been left in charge of Multán, was granted both Subas.

1748—1752.—Reign of Ahmad Shah. On the death of Muhammad Shah Muin-ud-din Khan (Mir Mannu), son of the Wazir Kamr-ud-din Khan, was appointed to the Subas of Lahore and Multán. Kaura Mal, a low bred Kirar, who had obtained promotion under Shahnawaz, was employed by Mir Mannu to march against Shahnawaz. There was a fight outside Multán in which Jassa Singh Kalal, the founder of the Ahluwalia misl, aided Kaura Mal. At first Kaura Mal was defeated, but Shahnawaz hearing that Kaura Mal was with only a few attendants on an elephant near Dauràna Langána, went against him with some horse and was shot while actually cutting with his sword at Kaura Mal's howda. Kaura Mal then took the 'ijara' of Multán as Nazim on behalf of Mir Mannu and assumed the title of Maharaja.

Kaura Mal maintained a friendly intercourse with the Daudputras of Baháwalpur and bestowed on Bahawal Khan the perpetual lease of the Adamwáhan taluka for Rs. 4,000 per annum. To improve the new acquisition Bahawal Khan built the Shahdara (Sardárwáh) canal. Kaura Mal used often to go to Lahore and on one occasion he left as Naib-Nazim one Zahid Khan Saddozai Khankhel; this man having disobeyed some order, Kaura Mal marched against him, but when the armies met at Matithal Zahid Khan's army deserted and he dismounted from his palki and fled, but was afterwards captured. On another occasion Kaura Mal left one Khwaja Ishaq as his Naib and this time Kaura Mal was killed, fighting against Ahmad Shah Abdali. (See Muhammad Latif's History of Punjab, 214, 315. Sh. Ali Bah. 33, 37 J.A.S.B. 1848, ii, 568—571.)

In 1751 Mubarak Khan Daudputra* bought the land of Shini, Bakhri and Mudwála (now in Muzaffargarh) from the zámíndárs of Tahir: also Bet (? Bet Moghal) and Dunáwáli from Sheikh Raju Gardezi and brought them under cultivation (J.A.S.B. 1848, ii, 568). In 1752 Ahmad Shah Abdali compelled the Emperor to cede the Punjáb and Sindh to him.† His son Tamur Shah was left in charge with Jahan Khan as adviser.

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* As the eastern half of the district was for a long time under the Daudputra rulers of Baháwalpur and one hears a good deal about them on travelling along the Sutlej it is thought convenient to append the following list of the more recent rulers of the Baháwalpur State:—A. D. 1727 Sadik Muhammad Khan I; 1746 Bahawal Khan I; 1751 Mubarik Khan; 1772 Bahawal Khan II; 1809 Sadik Muhammad Khan II; 1825 Bahawal Khan III; 1853 Sadatyar Khan; 1853 Fatteh Khan; 1859 Bahawal Khan IV; 1865 Sadik Muhammad Khan IV; 1899 Bahawal Khan V. Of these the best remembered in the district is Bahawal Khan III, our ally in the Multán campaign, who is always spoken of as Sakhi Bahawal Khan, *i.e.*, the generous. The Nawab of Baháwalpur for the time being is generally spoken of as 'Khan simply.

† Ahmad Shah struck coins at Multán in A. D. 1752 and 1754.

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Pathan and Sikh rule.

PATHAN AND SIKH RULE.

After having been an outlying province of the Delhi Empire Multán in 1752 became a province owing allegiance, often very nominal, to the Afghán kings of Kábul. The country was ruled for the most part by Governors of Pathán extraction, and under the rule of the Saddozais of Kábul a marked change took place in the fortunes of those Pathán families, chiefly Saddozais, who from time to time had fled from Afghánistán to take refuge in this district. By degrees those families, known as the Multáni Patháns, absorbed a good deal of power: the fief of Shujábád remained for some time in the hands of one of them, and ultimately under Nawabs Muzaffar Khan and Sarfraz Khan the Multán Saddozais set up for themselves a kingdom which was for all practical purposes independent. Under their government lands were conferred freely on the Pathán families; and numbers of Badozais, Bamozais, Tarins, Babars, Khakwánis and others, who had previously been mere towns-people or soldiers of fortune, became large jagírdárs and land-owners.

The rule of this Pathán government has come down to us surrounded by a certain halo, partly on account of the heroic defence made by the Nawabs against the Sikh aggressions, and partly on account of the very valuable assistance given to the British arms by the Pathán families in 1848; but as a matter of fact, the Pathán administration of the country seems to have been exceedingly lax, and the rulers, who were brave men in the day of battle, were slothful, luxurious and utterly unbusiness-like in the management of their territories in days of peace. The rule of the Saddozais extended over both sides of the Chenáb from the neighbourhood of Sarai Siddhu to about half way down the present Shujábád tahsíl, and the revenue they collected was about 5½ lakhs per annum. Their army consisted in peace time of some 2,000 men and 20 guns, but the number could be raised on emergency by the calling out of 10,000 or 12,000 militia. Elphinstone, who passed through Multán on his way to Kabul in 1807, says of the Multáni administration: 'Nothing could be worse than the government; all sorts of direct exactions were aggravated by monopolies, rapacious and ungovernable troops, and every other kind of abuse.' (Elph. Caubul, 23). The following account by Elphinstone of his reception by Nawab Sarfraz Khan gives an idea of the Patháns' notions of discipline and order in matters of ceremonial:—

'The principal events of our stay were our meetings with the governor of the province. The name of this personage was Sarfaraz Khan, and, as his government was in India, he had the title of Nabob. He was of an Afghán family, of the royal tribe of Saddozai, but his ancestors had so long been settled in Multán, that he had lost most of the characteristics of his nation. He seems to have been seized with a panic as soon as he heard of the approach of the mission and the whole of his behaviour to the end was marked with suspicion and

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distrust. He shut the gates of the city against us, and allowed none of our men or followers to enter without express permission. He also doubled his guards, and we heard from good authority, of debates in his council whether it was most probable that we should endeavour to surprise the city, or, that we should procure a cession of it to us from the king. He, however, agreed to visit me on the 15th of December, and a very large tent was pitched for his reception. One end of it was open, and from the entrance two canvas screens ran out, so as to form an alley about twenty yards long, which was lined with servants in livery, other servants extending beyond it. The troops were also drawn up in line along the road to the tent.

Mr. Strachey went to meet the governor, and found him mounted on a white horse, with gold trappings, attended by his officers and favorites, surrounded with large standards, and escorted by 200 horse and 3,000 foot. The dust, crowd, and confusion of the meeting are represented by Mr. Strachey as beyond all description. The governor welcomed Mr. Strachey according to the Persian custom, after which they joined and proceeded to the tent, the pressure and disorder increasing as they went. In some places men were fighting, and in others people were ridden down. Mr. Strachey's own horse was nearly borne to the ground, and only recovered himself by a violent exertion. When they approached the tent they missed the road, came in front of the line of troops, and rushed on the cavalry with such impetuosity that there was barely time to wheel back so as to allow a passage. In this manner the tide poured on towards the tent, the line of servants was swept away, the screens were torn down and trampled under foot, and even the tent ropes were assailed with such fury that the whole tent was nearly struck over our heads.

The inside was crowded and darkened in an instant. The governor and about ten of his companions sat, the rest seemed to be armed attendants and, indeed, the governor seemed to have attended to nothing but the number of his guards. He sat but for a very short time, during the whole of which he was telling his beads with the utmost fervency, and addressing us with: "You are welcome," as fast as he could repeat the words. At last he said he was afraid the crowd must annoy me, and withdrew. Sarfaraz Khan was a good looking young man; he wore the Persian dress, with a cap and a shawl turban over it, and spoke very good Persian. His attendants were large, fair, and handsome Afgháns, most of them very well dressed, but in no sort of order or discipline. On the same evening I returned his visit, and found him sitting under an awning, on a terrace in one of his gardens. He had a large company sitting with him in good order. They differed greatly in appearance from the natives of India, but were neither handsomely dressed, nor so decorous as Persians. The Nabob being now free from alarm was civil and agreeable enough.

Only a little less than half of the present Multán district was in the hands of these Patháns: the rest, consisting of the whole of the Mailsi and Lodhrán tahsíls, and the southern half of Shujábád, was in the hands of the Daudputra chiefs of Baháwalpur, who had gradually acquired the various talukas in this tract on lease from the rulers of Multán. When the power of the Multán Nawabs grew feebler, the Daudputras ceased paying their rent for these tracts, but on the advent of the Sikh power the rent was again strictly exacted from them. Under the Sikhs the rent was enhanced largely, until ultimately in 1831 the Daudputras failed to pay it, and the whole country west of Sutlej then passed into the hands first of General Ventura and then of

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Diwan Sawan Mal. The Daudputra rule in the Sutlej tahsíls had lasted, off and on, for some eighty or ninety years, and their management of the country seems to have been on the whole sensible and popular. Some of their kardars, such as Sirdar Muhammad Khan and Jam Khan, have left a name behind them for energy and justice, and it is to their management that we owe for the most part of the present system of canal irrigation in the district.

The earliest canals of which we can trace the origin were the Muhammadwah and the Sirdarwah which were made some time before 1750 to improve the Daudputra lands in the west of the present Lodhrán tahsíl. The lands further to the east were then taken in hand, and in another five years the Daudputras has excavated the Baháwalwah, Sadikwah and Kabilwah. Further east again were constructed shortly afterwards, under the Kardar Jam Khan, the two large canals, the Jamwah Kalán and the Jamwah Khurd, which are called after his name. And, finally, furthest to the east of all, when the Sikhs had taken the country, Ghulam Mustafa Khakwani built the canal Diwanwah, which he named after Diwan Sawan Mal. The success of these various irrigation schemes was great: large tracts of land were brought under cultivation, and tenants migrated eagerly from the Chenáb lands to the Daudputra canals. The Patháns on the Chenáb side were not slow in taking up the cue, and the Governor Ali Muhammad Khan started the digging of the large canal, still known after him as the Wali Muhammad, which irrigates the lands round Multán: but, with this exception, the attempts made to irrigate in the Chenáb tahsíls were feeble and irregular, compared with the great works of the Daudputras on the Sutlej. Two small cuts, now the Shahpur and Durána Langána canals, were made at an early date. Another, now the Sikandarábád, was constructed by the powerful Khokhar family for the irrigation of its own lands. The Saddozais fostered their jagír in Shujábád by permitting the construction of the Gujjuhatta, Bakhtuwah and Dhundhun canals. And towards the end of their rule some small efforts made to extend irrigation northwards by the construction of the Khadal, Tahirpur and Matital cuts. The Government, however, had little to do with the canal making on the Chenáb side; and, indeed, the cultivation carried on by these Chenáb canals seems to have been but small. Elphinstone, who notes the number of "large and deep watercourses" in the Sutlej tahsíl, does not mention canal irrigation round Multán. He says that a good deal of the country in these parts was "most abundantly watered by Persian wheels," but "a large proportion of the villages were in ruins, and there were other signs of a well cultivated country going to decay." [Elph. Caubul, i. 28].

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The chief factor in this picture of desolation was the continual warfare with the Sikhs of the north. From the time when the Bhangi Misl first appeared before the city in 1771 to the day when the army of Ranjit Singh stormed the Multán fort in 1818, the greater part of the Multán and Kabírwála tahsíls was being constantly overrun by predatory armies, and the havoc thus wrought has left its traces to the present day. Even when Ranjit Singh had taken Multán, he contented himself for a time with putting in governors of the muharrir type, who were quite incapable of restoring the prosperity of the country or of coping with the robber bands that overran the Kabírwála "bar:" and it was not till 1821, when Diwan Sawan Mal was made governor, that the unfortunate district obtained any real peace or strong government.*

For 23 years the Chenáb tahsíls, and for 13 years the whole district, was under the rule of Sawan Mal. The careless and disorganized happy-go-lucky administration of the Pathán aristocracy was now exchanged for a government conducted on the strictest of business principles. There was, it is true, very little system, as we understand it, in Sawan Mal's government: administrative boundaries were terribly confused and constantly changing, and his revenue arrangements still baffle us by their local and individual character; but want of system was atoned for by a most minute knowledge of personal and local matters, a precise attention to business and strong centralization of power. We hear little or nothing of Sawan Mal's kardars and his government was of the 'one-man' type. He was constant and methodical in his kutcherry hours, and minute in his supervision, especially over matters of accounts. He was thus able in a remarkable way to make this district the most contented in India, and yet at the same time to make it yield every rupee of income that could be squeezed from it, and this result he achieved by a combination of strict justice with minute revenue management.

In his judicial work he was strict and impartial. Edwardes, who saw through the spectacles of his friends, the Pathán refugees, attributes this largely to Sawan Mal's own low origin, 'What in us,' he writes, 'is an imperfection in Sawan Mal amounted to a vice. He could not tolerate a gentleman. A low bred man himself, he hated any one who had a grandfather. Rich merchants he loved and called around him, for they earned their money as he did himself; but inherited wealth he regarded as contraband, a thing to be seized and confiscated whenever found. Thus the same man

* So much have these Sikh incursions impressed themselves on the minds of the people that they still have a saying: 'Sáin, jo balá ándí haí ubhiyon dí hai.' 'Misfortune is from the north.'

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who would lend money to a Jat to buy a plough or dig a well, would keep a Multáni Pathán out of his estate and think he did God a service. Between the poor he did justice with great pains and impartiality; but a rich man, even if in the right, never got a verdict from Sawan Mal without paying for it.'

So too in his revenue arrangements, which will be further described later on, he carried out the ideas of land nationalization to great lengths. His main principle was that if land was culturable and the owner did not cultivate it, another cultivator should be put in by the State, and the owner recouped by a small due or not according to circumstances. Each village was assessed in the way that gave the largest return to Government, but whenever possible that way was also the most suitable to the cultivators. If a man had not capital to build a well or to buy oxen, the State at once supplied the capital and recouped itself as best it could, not according to any system but by taking as much from the owner each year as he could spare without injury to the cultivation. The canals were diligently cleared out, the zealous zamindars being encouraged by rewards and honours, and the remiss being severely punished. The Hindu who wanted to invest money in land was given uncultivated land to reclaim, and when he had reclaimed it was made to pay a full annual revenue for it. Useless expenditure on jágírs and mafis was reduced to a minimum, and everything able to yield revenue was made to yield it. And yet the people, tired after long harassments and pleased with the substantial justice they received, were kept happy and contented as they have probably never been before or since.

Chronicle.

From 1752 to 1767 the most prominent person in the history of Multán was *Ali Muhammad Khan Khakwani.* This officer, who had accompanied Ahmad Shah in his expeditions, was appointed in 1752 to succeed Khwaja Ishak at Multán. He was at first a good ruler, but afterwards became avaricious and oppressive. In 1758 the Mahrattas, who had been invited into the Punjáb by Adina Beg Khan, overran the district: Ali Muhammad Khan had to retire beyond the Ghara, and the Mahrattas appointed one Salih Muhammad Khan as Nizam in his place.* After some two years, however, a fresh invasion of the Duranis caused the Mahrattas to retire and Ali Muhammad in 1760 came to his own again. Next year, however, he was suspended, and the province was committed to the joint rule of Abdul Karim Khan and Allayar Khan Bamezai. After another interval the province fell to Nawab Shuja Khan Saddozai Khankhel, son of the Zahid Khan who had previously been naib-nazim, and a fellow-clansman of the king Ahmad Shah Duráni. About the end of 1766, however, Ali Muhammad Khan was again restored, and with the help of the Daudputras he seized the province of Dera. In return for this help he leased to them for Rs. 8,000 a year the ilakas of Khanwáh. Kahlwán (Kallnwála?), Adamwahan, Imam-ud-dinpur (Mamdi Mahtam?) and Shekhwan: he also allowed Mubarak Khan to seize and

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* Apparently in subordination to a Mahratta Shamaji Rao (Muhammad Latif's History, Punjab, 231).

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build a fort in certain land belonging to the Mailsi tribe and to take the lands on lease in perpetuity for Rs. 400 per annum. The latter acquisitions were entrusted to Jam Khan, son of Mulla Ali Kihrani who at once began to build a canal for their irrigation, and the success of these Sutlej canals was insured by the immigration from the north induced by Ali Muhammad Khan's cruelties. Meantime Ali Muhammad Khan seized Shuja Khan and put him in prison. When Ahmad Shah advanced against Multán, Shuja Khan was released, but he had carefully kept the additional nails and hair which he had grown in prison and showed these to Ahmad Shah, who in his indignation seized Ali Muhammad Khan, had his belly ripped open and his body exposed on a camel through the streets of Multán. (See Sh. Ali, 49, 52—4 and J.A.S.B. 1848, ii, 569).

The years 1767 to 1770 are marked by what may be called the *Haji Sharif episode*. Although Nawab Shuja Khan was again appointed Subadar on Ali Muhammad's death, one Haji Sharif Khan Saddozai shortly afterwards got himself nominated from Kábúl for the appointment, and Shuja Khan finding himself deserted by his army had to retire to Shujábád. From Shujábád he sent a Hindu called Dharm Jas to Kábúl with instructions to obtain the Subadarship either for Shuja Khan or for Dharm Jas himself: the Hindu did the latter, and sent one Mirza Sharif Beg, Taklu, a common chaprasi, as his naib to take over charge. Sharif Beg after seeing Shuja Khan at Shujábád advanced to Multán, entered the city by the Pak gate and then went into the fort by the Sikki gate. Haji Sharif Khan was having his beard dyed at the time in the Samman Burj of the fort; officer after officer was despatched by him to see what the disturbance was, but as none returned, his suspicions were roused and he escaped by the window. As he had been here so short a time the people said of him 'Haji Sharif, na Rabi na Kharif,' *i.e.*, he had not time to see either spring or autumn harvest. The naib Sharif Beg ruled well. When Dharm Jas came to take over charge, he summoned Sharif Beg to meet him at the Chenáb, but Sharif Beg refused and shut himself up in the fort, and while Dharm Jas was walking on the roof of a house in Diwan Mansa Ram's garden, a well directed ball from the fort killed him. Sharif Beg thereupon proclaimed himself ruler, and to protect himself from the anger of the king at Kábúl he invited the assistance of the Bhangi Sikhs. A one-eyed general called Bahadur Khan Durani (called Bibra Khan in the Tazkirat-ul-Mulúk) was sent from Kábúl to chastise Sharif Beg, and he took the city by undermining the walls, but failed to take the fort, and retired on the arrival of the Sikhs. Sharif Beg wisely refused to let his deliverers into the fort, but one day, when he was at the Idgah, his Diwan allowed them in, whereon Sharif Beg fled to Sital Das' garden, and ultimately agreed to retire to his jagir at Tulamba where he built the present fort, and a few years later he died. (See also p. 62, Sh. Ali where a somewhat different account is given; also J.A.S.B. 1848, ii, 571, where the dates differ a little).

From 1771 to 1779 the *Bhangi Sikhs* held and terrorized the whole of the north and centre of the district under their chiefs Ganda Singh and Jhanda Singh. Their general was Lahna Singh and the 'killadar' of the fort was Diwan Singh Chacchowália. They failed to take Shujábád in spite of a three months' siege: and Shuja Khan with his allies the Daudputras advanced against Multán and seized the city, but failing to obtain the fort retired again. So too one Ali Muhammad Khan Duráni who was sent from Kábúl to expel the Sikhs was able to take the city only and failed to take the fort. In June 1773

* Coins were struck by Taimur as Nizam in 1762—64 and 1770 at Multán, the device being 'Ba'alam yaft sikka Taimur Shah Nizam. ba Hukm-i-Khuda we Rasul-i-anam,' and on the obverse 'San—zarb Dar-ul-aman Multán.' Coins were struck at Multán in the name of Taimur Shah as king in 1790 and 1791. (Dames' Coins of the Duránis in Num. Chron. viii, 325, &c.).

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Ahmad Shah Duráni died and was succeeded by his son Taimur, who had hitherto been the nominal 'Nizam' of Multán.* So also in 1776 Nawab Shuja Khan died at Shujábád and was succeeded by his son Muzaffar Khan. The Sikhs had leased the country of Dipálpur, Kahror and Fattehpur between the Biás ond Sutlej to Madad Ali Khan Daudputra; but when the attack on Shujábád caused Muzaffar Khan to retire to Baháwalpur, the Daudputras espoused his cause and sent an army with him against the Sikhs. After besieging the city for 23 days they were admitted by the postern gate of the Gardezis on the west side of the town, and at once fell to indiscriminate looting, while the Sikh killadar, Diwan Singh, being shut up in the fort, sent expresses to Amritsar for aid. When Ganda Singh arrived from the Punjab the greater part of the Daudputra force were found to have returned to their homes in anticipation of sanction, and the Sikhs had little difficulty in driving Muzaffar Khan back to Shujábád. From Shujábád incessant appeals for help were sent to Taimur Shah, who then 'ordered Sirdar Bihru Khan with a proper force, experienced in war, to proceed and expel the Sikhs from Multán.' This general in 1778 had almost taken the fort when he was recalled. Another force under Sirdar Ali Maddad Khan was sent shortly afterwards, and this too had nearly taken the fort when it was withdrawn. In 1779 Taimur Shah himself advanced from Pesháwar to Dera Ghází Khan, and shortly afterwards a big fight took place between the two forces in the direction of Shujábád. The Shah's troops numbering 18,000, under Zangi Khan, Kamálzai, are said to have been caught in a dust-storm while facing the Sikh army; having obtained a Sikh drum, the Patháns began beating it, and the Sikhs, hearing their own war drum, began groping their way in small parties towards it and were cut down by the Patháns as they came up. Their heads were cut off and sent in kajawas on camels to Dera Ghází Khan. The routed army was pursued by Taimur Shah in person to Multán; the Shah encamped at the Idgah and besieged the fort. By the intercession of Abdulkarim Khan, Babar, the Sikhs were allowed to surrender and march out with all the honours of war. Whereupon Taimur Shah took possession of the fort and, after installing Muzaffar Khan as subadar, returned again to Kábúl. (See J.A.S.B. 1848 ii, 566—7 Sh. Ali, pp. 62—4. Muhammad Latif's History, Punjab, 297—9).

From 1779 to 1818 *Nawab Muzaffar Khan* Saddozai remained in power at Multán.

His relations towards the Kábúl authorities were very varying and indefinite. In 1792 Taimur Shah took him to Kábúl and was, it is said, intending to imprison him when Taimur Shah died and was succeeded by Zaman Shah. Zaman Shah confirmed Muzaffar Khan, and we find coins of this king dated 1799 and 1800 which were struck at the Multán mint. Zaman Shah had summoned Muzaffar Khan to Kábúl, and the latter had advanced as far as Tank when he heard that Zaman Shah had been blinded and deposed. Mahmud Shah set himself up as king in Kábúl and Shah Shuja in Pesháwar. At first the power of the former preponderated, and he confirmed Muzaffar Khan in his government, but his Wazir Fatteh Khan induced him to send Abdussamad, Badozai, in his place. Muzaffar Khan refused to recognize Abdussamad, and defeated him at Dinpur near Muzaffargarh. Meantime in 1807 Shah Shuja regained ascendancy in Eastern Afghánistán, and sent an expedition under the son of his Wazir Ata Muhammad Khan, but matters were compromised, and Shah Shuja duly confirmed Muzaffar Khan, associating with him in the government his son Nawab Sarfaraz Khan. In 1807, Nawab Muzaffar Khan went for nine months on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and during his absence Elphinstone's Embassy to Kábúl passed through Multán, remaining in the district from the 5th to the 21st of December. Shah Shuja's power in these parts lasted till 1809, and we have gold coins of his struck in Multán in that year. The story is that when Shuja-ul-

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Mulk came to terms with Ranjit Singh in 1809, he promised to give Multán over to him, but afterwards he got him to agree to leave Multán with Muzaffar Khan, the revenue of S. Siddhu, Sirdárpur and Tulamba being assigned to Shuja-ul-Mulk for maintenance: and it is said that Shuja-ul-Mulk having visited his jagir and found the maintenance insufficient, went on to Lahore.* The unhappy monarch is said to have passed through Multán and while there to have been lodged in the Hazuri Bagh. His women were put up in the Nawab's Haram Sarai and afterwards in Ali Muhammad Khan's Haveli outside the Lohari gate; but the Nawab omitted all visits of courtesy. In any case after 1809 Muzaffar Khan was nominally subject to Mahmud Shah until he began paying tribute to the Sikhs; and the local coinage in his life-time and indeed after the Sikhs had taken Multán at the time of his death was in the name of Mahmud Shah (see J.A.S.B. 1848, ii, 570, Dames loc. cit. and Tazkirat-ul-Mulúk).

In his relations with the Daudputras of Baháwalpur, who (it must be remembered) held the greater part of what are now known as the 'Sutlej tahsíls,' Muzaffar Khan was not at first very happy, and we hear of an unprovoked aggression on his part in 1779, followed by a skirmish in which his officer Abdulkarim Khan Babar was killed. After Zaman Khan's death, however, when other governors were sent from Kábúl to oust Muzaffar Khan, the latter received the hearty assistance of the Daudputras under Bahawal Khan I, and in return helped that chief in his aggressions towards Dera Gházi Khan and Muzaffargarh. In 1807 when Muzaffar Khan went to Mecca, Sarfaraz Khan renewed the lease to the Daudputras of the tracts of Adamwáhán, Khánpur, Shergarh and Khai and the Daudputras 'brought them under fine cultivation.' In 1810, however, when certain rebels stood out against Muhammad Khan II Daudputra in the lands north of the Sutlej, Sarfaraz Khan seems to have in some way abetted them and the Daudputras then ceased paying their annual rent for these lands. After this the two Nawabs remained on bad terms. In 1811 certain rebels from the Baháwalpur State were allowed by Muzaffar Khan to take refuge in Shujábád and make raids from thence. Shortly afterwards Muzaffar Khan sent his own army to oppose the Daudputra General Yakub Muhammad Khan, and the two forces met somewhere south of Shujábád, apparently near Panjáni. The Multán force was defeated, and next day the bodies of their dead 'were transferred on hackeries to Shujábád by permission of the Daudputra commander.' The result of these contentions was that when the Sikhs attacked Multán, the Daudputras afforded the Patháns no kind of aid, (see Sh. Ali 65, 113, 120, 146, 166—7 J.A.S.B. 1848, ii, 570. Muhammad Latif's History. Punjáb 385. Edwardes Year in Pb. Front iii 417).

It was in his relations with the Sikhs that Muzaffar Khan ultimately failed to hold his own. After the Bhangis had been driven out of Multán, an attack was made on the town by the Háthiánwálas but they were repulsed. Later on an army was sent by Muzaffar Khan to Kamália under Khan Muhammad Khan Badozai who recovered that town from the Sikhs and gave it over to its hereditary rulers, the Rais of the Kharral tribe. In 1802, he first came in contact with Ranjit Singh when that chief, having marched into the Nawab's dominions, was induced to retire by the promise of a large 'nazrana.'

*One story is that Shuja-ul-Mulk found in Multán another refugee Shahzada Ahsan Bakht, brother of the Delhi Emperor, who was in receipt of an allowance from the Afgháns; and that as the Shahzada's allowance was in the form of an assignment of the income from drugs, spirits and houses of ill-fame, Shuja-ul-Mulk was not much tempted to apply for similar pecuniary aid. The jagir actually given to him was purposely located in a direction where the raids of the Syáls and Kathiás rendered collection of revenue very difficult.

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In 1806, Ranjit Singh made his *second* invasion: he advanced as far as Kot Mahtam (now Khan Bahadargarh in the south of the Kabirwala tahsíl), but on hearing that the Mahrattas under Holkar were on his eastern frontier he retired, accepting a present of Rs. 70,000. In 1807 the *third* invasion took place, Ranjit Singh being urged to attack Multán by Abdussamad Khan, Badozai, the unsuccessful claimant of 1803. Ranjit Singh accused Muzaffar Khan of harbouring and helping his enemy Ahmad Khan Syal of Jhang, and again marched his troops to Kot Mahtam. A truce was there made with Khudayar Khan, the representative of the local jagirdar, but was broken by Ranjit Singh in order that he might have an excuse for looting the kirars of the neighbourhood. An attempt was made to arrest Khudayar Khan, but that officer drew his sword, and was advancing against Ranjit Singh's elephant when he was cut down. The Sikhs then advanced on Multán. After 11 days the Patháns retired into the fort and after another 11 days, Ranjit Singh, who had no siege appliances, accepted a nazrana of Rs. 70,000 (half of which was realized by the Nawáb from the inhabitants of the town), and after exacting a further sum from the Daudputras returned to Lahore. In 1810 Ranjit Singh made his *fourth* attack, alleging as his ground for hostilities the non-payment of the subsidy promised by Muzaffar Khan. The Sikhs reached Multán on February 24th and took possession of the city the next day. A contingent of 500 horse was exacted from the Daudputra, and the fort was hotly besieged, but without success. The following is the account of the siege given in Muhammad Latif's 'History of the Punjab'—(see also Sh. Ali, 158).

"The citadel of Multán was now closely besieged by the Sikh army, but the Patháns offered a stout resistance and the most strenuous attempts of the Sikh soldiers to carry the fort by assault signally failed. A heavy bombardment was kept up for several days, but without any effect. Batteries were then erected opposite the fort, and an incessant fire was maintained, but hardly any impression was made on the citadel. Recourse was at length had to mining; but the besieged successfully countermined. Ranjit Singh made the most solemn and lavish promises to the Chiefs who should distinguish themselves in the action by the earliest effective advance. He personally reconnoitred the enemy's position, examined his posts, and fixed his own, marking out the spots for the batteries, and assigning lines of approach to the different chiefs, whose sense of duty to their countrymen was appealed to with vehemence. Extensive transport arrangements were made both by land and water from Lahore and Amritsar, and the whole resources of the country were unreservedly placed at the disposal of the military authorities to secure this much coveted possession. The famous "Bhangi *top*" named "Zamzama," was brought from Lahore to batter down the walls of the fort, but it made little impression on the besieged. It discharged a ball of 2½ maunds (kachcha) or 80 lbs. in weight, but the appliances for working this huge piece of ordnance were wanting in the Sikh camp, while nobody possessed sufficient skill to make a proper use of it. Some little impression that was made on the ramparts of the citadel by the Sikh artillery had the effect only of redoubling the zeal of the besieged, who in countermining, blew up the battery of Sardar Attar Singh, Dhári, close to the fort, killing the Sardar and twelve others, and severely wounding many more, among whom were Sardar Nihal Singh, Attáriwála, and the youthful Hari Singh, Nalwa. Confused and panic-stricken the assailants fled leaving their dead close to the fort, but the high-minded Patháns sent the bodies to the beseigers, that of Attar Singh being wrapped in a pair of shawls. The siege lasted for two months, during which the Sikh army was greatly reduced, and its best soldiers and generals killed or incapacitated. The most conspicuous of these was Attar Singh, Dhári, a favorite companion and confidential Sardar of the Máhárája. Nor did the Sikh army meet with better success in other quarters. Diwan Mulkam Chand, who had been sent to

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reduce Shujábád, found the fort impregnable. A general assault was made on the 21st of March, but the Sikh army was repulsed with considerable loss. The Diwan became dangerously ill, and the loss on the side of the Sikhs, in killed and wounded, was great. Another general attack was made on the 25th, but with no better result.

The protracted military operations now caused a scarcity of provisions in the Sikh camp, both in Multán and Shujábád, and the Máháraja, seeing his case to be hopeless, retired on the 19th of April, being forced to acknowledge himself completely foiled in his attempt, and having the additional mortification of finding himself compelled to accept now the very terms which he had on so many previous occasions rejected with scorn, namely, a tribute of 2½ lakhs of rupees, twenty chargers and a contingent in time of war. Of the amount of the ransom Rs. 30,000 was paid in advance, while Abubakar Khan, brother-in-law of Muzaffar Khan, was delivered up as a hostage for the payment of the balance. The Máháraja's 'amour propre' being in this way, to some extent, soothed, he returned to Lahore on the 25th of April, much depressed in spirits by the ill-success of his campaign, and throwing the blame on his Sardars and officers."

Shortly after this Muzaffar Khan began to correspond with the English in Calcutta, while Ranjit Singh approached Sir D. Ochterlony in Ludhiána, each hoping to receive English aid; but both parties were refused assistance. In 1812 the Sikhs appeared for the *fifth* time, commanded this time by Dal Singh. Some Rs. 50,000 of the promised subsidy was still due, but the Nawáb having sold his jewels at Delhi made up the balance, the hostage was set free, and the Sikhs retired. In 1813 the Kábúl troops threatened an attack on Multán by way of Trimmu Ghat, and Muzaffar Khan sent his Vakil, Ghulam Muhammad, to Lahore for help, with the result that troops were sent to Sarai Siddhu under Kanwar Kharrak Singh, and the danger averted. In 1816 the *sixth* Sikh invasion took place; Ranjit Singh advanced to Tulamba, besieged Ahmadábád, and camped at Salarwahan. An advanced column went on to Multán to enforce the subsidy demanded, and Phula Singh, Akáli, intoxicated with bhang suddenly stormed the town with some fanatics and got possession of part of the fort. The Nawáb then paid down Rs. 80,060, promising to pay another Rs. 40,000 in a short time, and Ranjit Singh passed on to Mankera. In 1817 a *seventh* incursion was made under Bhawani Das who was, however, compelled to raise the siege and retire, for which want of success he was find Rs. 10,000 by his master. In 1818 came the *eigth* and last Sikh attack. It was felt that this was to be a war to the death, and immense preparations were made on either side. The Nawábs raised the cry of religion, and endeavoured to enlist the Mussalman sympathies of their neighbours, while the Sikhs endeavoured to detach them by all means in their power. An army of 25,000 men, fully equipped, was marched under Misr Diwan Chand into the trans-Chenáb lands of the Nawáb, and, after taking Khángarh and Muzaffargarh, appeared before Multán early in February. The city was taken after a few days, and the citadel was then bombarded. To quote Sir Lepel Griffin (Punjab Chiefs, p. 85):—

"The Nawáb had only a force of 2,000 men, and the fort was not provisioned for a siege, but he made a defence the like of which the Sikhs had never seen before. Till the 2nd of June the bombardment went on, and two large breaches had been made in the walls, for the great Bhangi gun, the Zam-Zam of Ahmad Shah, Durráni, had been brought from Lahore and had been four times fired with effect. More than one assault had been made by the Sikhs, but they were repulsed, on one occasion with the loss of 1,880 men. The gates were blown in, but the garrison raised behind them mounds of earth on which they fought hand to hand with the Sikhs. The defenders of the fort were at length reduced to two or three hundred fighting men, most of them of the tribe or family of Muzaffar Khan. The

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rest had either been killed or had gone over to the enemy, for they had been heavily bribed to desert their master, and many of them were unable to resist the temptation. At length on the 2nd June an Akáli, by name Sadhu Singh, determined to surpass what Phula Singh had done in 1816, rushed with a few desperate followers into an outwork of the fort, and taking the Afgháns by surprise, captured it.* The Sikh forces seeing this success advanced to the assault, and mounted the breach at the Khizri gate. Here the old Nawáb, with his eight sons and all that remained of the garrison, stood sword in hand resolved to fight to the death. So many fell beneath the keen Afghán sword that the Sikhs drew back and opened fire on the little party with their matchlocks. 'Come on like men' shouted the Afgháns, 'and let us fall in fair fight,' but this was an invitation which the Sikhs did not care to accept. There died the white-bearded Muzaffar Khan, scorning to accept quarter, and there died five of his sons. Zulfaqar Khan, his second son, was also wounded severely in the face, and two others, Sarfaraz Khan and Amir Beg Khan, accepted quarter and were saved. Diwan Ram Diyal took Sarfaraz Khan upon his elephant and conducted him with all honor to his own tent. Few of the garrison escaped with their lives and the whole city was given to plunder."

What followed is thus described in Muhammad Latif's History (p. 412):—

"The city and fort were now given up to be plundered by the Sikh troops: great were the ravages committed by the Sikhs on this occasion. About 400 to 500 houses in the fort were razed to the ground, and their owners deprived of all they had. The precious stones, jewellery, shawls and other valuables belonging to the Nawáb were confiscated to the State, and kept carefully packed by Diwan Ram Diyal, for the inspection of the Máháraja. The arms were all carried away. In the town many houses were set on fire, and nothing was left with the inhabitants that was worth having. Hundreds were stripped of their clothes. Outrages were committed on the women, many of whom committed suicide by drowning themselves in the wells, or otherwise putting an end to their lives, in order to save themselves from dishonor. Hundreds were killed in the sack of the city, and indeed there was hardly a soul who escaped both loss and violence. So great, in short, were the horrors inflicted upon the unfortunate inhabitants that the terrible incidents attendant on the sack of Multán are recollected to this day, and still not unfrequently form the topic of conversation. When all was over, Prince Kharak Singh made his triumphant entry into the fort, and took possession of all the State property and treasures belonging to the Nawáb. The fort of Shujábád was then captured and sacked and booty estimated at 4,00,000 rupees, consisting of gold and silver utensils, and other valuables, fell into the hands of the victors. The first man who brought intelligence of the capture of Multán to Ranjit Singh was a macebearer (chobdar) in the service of Sardar Fateh Singh, Ahluwália. The Máháraja presented him with a pair of gold bracelets and a sheet of rich 'kalabatun' (cloth made of twisted silk and gold threads), and on the news being confirmed through official sources, great rejoicings were made at Lahore, which was the scene of festivities for eight days. The Máháraja having taken his seat on an elephant, moved about the principal streets of Lahore, showering down rupees to be scrambled for by the crowd.

Thus ended the Pathán rule in Multán.†

* Masson (Trav. i, 397) says of this siege: "The attack threatened to end, like former ones, in failure when an adventurer named Jones, in the Sikh service, took charge of the batteries, advanced them close to the citadel and breached it."

† For the various attacks on Multán see Muhammad Latif, p. 359, 362, 368, 372, 386, 393, 398, 407, 410, and 412; also Shahamat Ali, p. 158.

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Between 1818 and 1821 *the Sikh Governors* of Multán were often changed. At first Sukh Dyal, Khatri, was made Subadar, and he endeavoured to make the people settle down again to agriculture by liberal grants of taccavi. In September 1819 he was imprisoned for a deficiency in his remittances, and was succeeded by Sham Singh, Pesháwria, who obtained the farm of Multán for 6¼ lakhs, and who with his kotwal Nazar Ali did his best to put down robbery with a high hand. In 1819 Ranjit Singh came himself to Multán for three months, *viâ* Chiniot, and found cause to imprison Sham Singh. He was succeeded by Badan Hazari, a 'useless sycophant,' and in the charge of the accounts was placed Sawan Mal, a Khatri of Akálgarh, on a salary of Rs. 250 per mensem. (Ranjit Singh visited Multán again in 1822, and again when he was returning from his campaign against Fattah Khan Khattak). Badan Hazari and Sawan Mal having quarrelled, Shujábád was shortly afterwards given on contract to the latter; Tulamba and Sarai Sidhu, which had been in jagir to Khushal Singh, were given to Prem Ram of Aghápura, and Sirdárpur was given in jagir to Inayat Khan Syal. In 1820 Badan Hazari failed in his accounts was confined and removed: in 1848 Major Edwardes wrote of this man that he was then alive and well, performing very indifferently the exalted functions of Magazine Store-keeper in the fort of Lakhi in Marwat for the consideration of Re. 1 per diem. 'He is as mean a little man to look at as I ever saw: of neither rank, parts, courage nor education, and one might suppose he was put into the government of Multán as a joke.' His place was given to Metha Mal, Shikárpuria, Jamadar Baj Singh being left in the fort to look after him. Very soon afterwards one Sewa Mal was appointed, and finally in 1821 the contract was given to Diwan Sawan Mal. All these changes had led to a great deal of lawlessness and robbery, and the jagirdars became insubordinate. (Muhammad Latif's History, Punjab, 419, J.A.S.B. 1848, ii. 571, Edw. Year ii, 29).

With the appointment of *Diwan Sawan Mal* a new state of things arose. He stopped the raids of the Kathiás in the east of the district. His naib, Daya Ram, a native of Gujránwála suddenly attacked and killed Bakhu Langriál, a noted free-booter in the neighbourhood of Tulamba. The zamíndárs were made to pay revenue punctually, and the Diwan's remittances to Lahore were always complete. By degrees other ilakas were added to the Diwan's contract until he held the greater part of the Dera Ismail Khan, Dera Gházi Khan, Muzaffar garh and Jhang districts in his charge. The Sutlej territories, however, remained outside his province till 1831: these were at first left in the hands of the Daudputras, the nazrana was raised every year, and every year the money had to be realized by the Sikhs at the sword's point. At last in 1831 General Ventura* occupied the country, 'posting thanas and offices at the different towns to regulate the police and collect the revenue.' And after this the Sutlej ilakas seem to have come within Diwan Sawan Mal's province. (Muhammad Latif 450. Sh. Ali, 206—7).

On Ranjit Singh's death in 1839, Diwan Sawan Mal was confirmed in the government of Multán, in spite of the hostility of the Jammu faction at Lahore. The Diwan was, however, summoned to Lahore by Kanwar Nao Nehal Singh. He obeyed the summons frankly and thereby not only saved his province from invasion, but obtained authority over the fort in Multán, which previously had been under a separate Governor. From this time forward he spent a

* The General stayed some time in Multán itself, occupying a house on the site of which the present District Jail is built. The remains of a canal called the Venturwah are also visible in the Mailsi tahsíl. The General is said to have criticised Sawan Mal's schemes for the fortification of Multán, and though his advice was followed it made Sawan his enemy.

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good deal of money in strengthening the fort, and it is probable that he dreamed of throwing off allegiance to the Sikh darbar. (Edw. ii. 35—7).

The Diwan was assassinated in September 1844. Edwardes tells the story as follows:—'He had a good soldier who wanted to leave him, and whom he did not want to lose; so he put him off at first by soft words and promises, but at last when the soldier demanded his pay and discharge, he got up a law suit against him and threatened to put him in prison. The soldier remonstrated and reiterated his demand. Sawan Mal got angry and told his guards as usual to "seize the rascal and take away his sword and shield." The soldier called out to the guards to lay hands on him at their peril, but stand back and he would give up his arms. He then pulled off his sword and shield and surrendered them. The guards asked if they should take him off to prison. "No," said the Diwan, "let him sit at the door that I may see him and have a few last words with him as I go out." They were his last indeed. The soldier had retained under his scarf a loaded pistol; and burning with indignation at the shame that had been put on him after years of faithful service he resolved to revenge himself if it cost his life; so he cocked the pistol under cover of the scarf over his breast and shoulder and awaited the Diwan's coming. At last the Durbar broke up and Sawan Mal, with a smile of gratified malice, stopped before the arrested soldier, and commenced taunting him with the folly of resistance. In the midst of the abuse the soldier pulled the trigger and the contents of his pistol were lodged in the Diwan's left breast above the heart. The soldier was, I believe, cut to pieces by the guard. His victim bore up for about 10 days, and was apparently recovering when the wound broke out again, and caused instant death.' (Edw., ii, 32—3).

The following was the family of Sawan Mal:—

By Kishn Devi, daughter of Ganda Mal.	By Lachmi Devi, daughter of Tulsi Das of Haveli Bahadur Shah.	By Sat-bharai, sister of the last.
Ram Das, died before his father, Mulraj, Karam Narain, b. 1819.	Sham Singh, b. 1835. Ram Singh, b. 1837.	Narain Singh.

Wazir Chand.

During the Diwan's life-time Karm Narayan had been put in charge of Leiáh, and Mulraj in Jhang; the former was popular, the latter not, and the saying was that Multán got Sawan (the summer rains), Leiáh got Karam (kindness) and Jhang got only Mula (an insect that eats the corn). On Sawan Mal's death *Diwan Mulraj* was confirmed on the same terms as his father, subject to a nazrana of 30 lakhs. He fell out with his family and divided with his brothers the private property left by his father, amounting to 90 lakhs of rupees. There was a delay about the payment of the nazrana and the Darbar on the mediation of the Governor-General's agent agreed in 1846 to reduce the amount due to 20 lakhs, on condition that Mulraj gave up all lands north of the Ravi and paid an increased revenue for the three years beginning with the Kharif of 1847. According to Sir John Lawrence, Mulraj "faithfully fulfilled his pecuniary engagements, but rendered himself obnoxious for neglect in not attending to the requisitions of the Resident when called upon by him to redress the complaints of his people. In fact," says Lawrence, "Diwan Mulraj is a ruler of the old school, and so long as he had paid his revenue he considered the province as his own to make the most of. He proved himself to be grasping and avaricious, with none of the statesmanlike views of his father and few of his conciliatory qualities. The traders and agriculturists of the province had been complaining of his exactions." (Edw., ii, 40).

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The appeals made to the Resident against his conduct rendered Mulraj discontented, and he was also rendered anxious by the fact that certain dues paid by his zamíndárs had been abolished in the rest of the Punjáb. He therefore tendered his resignation. This was ultimately accepted, and it was arranged that Sardar Kahn Singh should be appointed Nazim in his place, in co-operation with Mr. P. A. Vans Agnew of the Civil Service and Lieutenant W. A. Anderson of the 1st Bombay European Fusiliers.*

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The first Punjáb war of 1845, though it led to the appointment of a Resident at Lahore and the despatch of officers to settle the revenue of various districts of the province, led at first to little or no change in the government of Multán, which continued as before under its Khatri ruler, Mulraj, the son of Sawan Mal. But when Mulraj determined to resign his charge and the English officers sent to replace him were massacred by the populace at the Idgah in April 1848, Multán appeared at once in full revolt and the events of the next year are of the greatest interest. No one who cares about the local history should fail to read the entrancing account of this year which is given in the second volume of Sir Herbert Edwardes 'Year on the Punjáb Frontier' or the clear description of the siege and campaign given in Gough and Innes' 'Sikhs and the Sikh Wars':† but for ordinary reference a brief abstract of the chief events will be found in the 'Chronicle' appended below. Roughly speaking, there were three phases in the campaign.

First, from 18th April 1848 to 18th August: during which Edwardes, Van Cortlandt and the Baháwalpur troops unaided by any British soldiers, drove in the Sikh forces from the south and practically confined Mulraj to the immediate vicinity of Multán: winning during the period two marked victories, one at Kineri in the Shujábád tahsíl on June the 18th, and one at Siddhu Hisam, near the present Cantonment Railway Station on July 1st.

Secondly, from August 18th to December 10th. During this time a small British force under General Whish arrived and sat down before the city, but, being deserted on Sep-

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* Some interesting notes by 'Z.N.' on the state of the district in Sikh times will be found in the *Pioneer* newspaper issues of July 25 and December 17, 1897; August 17, September 2, September 10, 1898, and October 13, 1899.

† The map in the latter work should, especially, be consulted. Other works of interest in connection with the campaign are Hugo James' 'Scramble through Scinde;' Dunlop's illustrated account of the siege of Multán and Siddon's description of the siege in the Corps Papers of the Royal and East Indian Company's Engineers (Vol. i, 1849-50. See also the 'Punjab Blue Book (Vol. 41, 1849).' There is also an interesting vernacular account of the campaign written by Pir Ibrahim Khan, the Baháwalpur agent. A local vernacular poem on the same subject is printed below as an appendix to this volume.

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tember 14th by the Darbar troops under Sher Singh, had at once to raise the siege and wait for the arrival of an adequate besieging force.

Thirdly, from December 10th, 1848, to January 22nd, 1849. The reinforcement having arrived from Bombay, the siege was renewed on December 27th. On January 2nd and 3rd the city was captured: and after a severe bombardment the fort was about to be stormed on the 22nd, when Mulraj in the nick of time surrendered.

The revolt of Mulraj—his action, it may be noted, was treated throughout as a revolt against the Darbar—was no doubt at first unpremeditated. It was primarily a revolt of the Sikh soldiery in Multán against anticipated English interference, and it was actively assisted by all the Hindu element of the district, which so largely profited under nearly 30 years of Khatri rule. On the other hand, the movement was neither a national Sikh movement nor was it in any sense a rising of the people. Sawan Mal and his sons had kept so much aloof from Lahore politics that, when the rebellion broke out, none of the Sikh Sirdars, however disaffected, gave it any appreciable active help, and when the real Sikh insurrection gathered head in the north of the province, its leaders pursued their own game, leaving Mulraj to defend himself as best he could. The people of the district, moreover, who were almost all Muhammadans, had little sympathy with the revolt, and the Pathán nobility, who had been brought very low under Sikh rule, deserted almost *en masse* to the British side and assisted most actively in the suppression of the rebellion.

As regards the conduct of the campaign there can be no two opinions as to the admirable services rendered by Edwardes, then a young Lieutenant in political employ. But on two points there was at the time a good deal of dispute.

In the first place it was questioned whether a large British force should not have been sent against Multán in June 1848, in order to take the city at once and prevent disaffection from spreading. Edwardes thought this should have been done, Lord Gough and Lord Dalhousie were against it; and the *pros* and *cons* of the question will be found fully set forth in Gough and Innes' book above referred to.

Secondly, when the seige had been commenced, it was a good deal disputed whether the bombardment should be directed on the fort or on the city: and at various times different views were adopted on this point. Ultimately, both city and fort were breached, but Mulraj's timely surrender made it unnecessary to scale the breaches in the Fort.

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18th April 1848. (Messrs. Agnew and Anderson arrived at Multán and encamped at the Idgah). They had a Sikh escort of 1,400 men, 600 Gurkhas, 700 Cavalry and 6 guns. Mulraj who was living in the Am Khas less than a mile away made two visits to the Idgah during the day, and it was arranged that he should make over the fort to the new Governor next morning.

19th April. Major Edwardes gives the following account of the events of the day:—

"Early on the morning of the 19th of April the two British officers and Sirdar Kahn Singh accompanied Mulraj into the fort of Multán; were shown all over it; received the keys; installed two companies of their own Goorkha infantry in possession; planted their own sentries; mustered the Diwan's garrison, who seemed angry at the prospect of being thrown out of employment; allayed their fears with promises of service: and prepared to return home * * The cavalcade passed forth and entered upon the bridge over the ditch. Two soldiers of Mulraj's were standing on the bridge. One of them, named Umeer Chand, gazed for a moment at the two unarmed Englishmen, who presumed to ride in and out of the great fortress Sawan Mal had made so strong; and brooding, perchance, over his own long services and probable dismissal, impatiently struck the nearest with his spear, and knocked him off his horse. Agnew who was ignorant of fear, jumped up, and struck his assailant with the riding stick in his hand. The ruffian threw away his spear, and rushing in with his sword inflicted two severer wounds. He would probably have killed Mr. Agnew on the spot, had he not been knocked into a ditch by a horseman of the escort.

"The scuffle was now known; the crowd pressed round to see what was the matter; news was carried back into the fort that swords were out and going on the bridge; an uproar rose within, and in another moment the whole garrison would come pouring forth. Mulraj made no attempt to stem the tide, and rescue the Englishman who had come down, at his invitation, to Multán. He either thought only of himself, or was not sorry for the outbreak; and forcing his horse through the crowd, rode off to his garden-house at Am Khas. Nor was this all; his own personal sowars turned back half-way and pursued Lieutenant Anderson, who had as yet escaped. Who can tell now who ordered them? * * What moved them we can never know; but we know the fact that they sought out Anderson; attacked and cut him down with swords, so that he fell for dead upon the ground, where he was found afterwards by some of his own Goorkha soldiers, who put him on a litter, and carried him to the Idgah.*

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* For comparison with the above description is appended the account of the affair given by Mulraj's Judges in their written judgment:—

"About 7 o'clock on the morning of the 19th, the British officers, Kahn Singh and Mulraj visited the Fort. Mr. Agnew inspected the stores and magazines, harangued the troops of Mulraj who were to be retained or dismissed and leaving the Fort in charge of two companies of the Goorkha regiment prepared with the rest of the party to return home. The egress from the fort lay through an inner gate called Sikhi, and then an outer one Kumr Kotha. This last was connected with the glacis by a standing bridge over the deep fort ditch. At this point Mr. Agnew is said to have been riding on the extreme right, on his left was Mulraj, then Lieutenant Anderson, Kahn Singh being on the left flank. Somewhere near this bridge, for the spot is placed differently in different depositions, Mr. Agnew was struck with a spear by an assassin, fell from his horse and was wounded with three blows of a sword by the same man, who escaped by falling

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or getting into the deep ditch. Mulraj seeing what had taken place pushed on his horse, Lieutenant Anderson, too rode off rapidly, while Kahn Singh stopped behind with Rung Ram, a relation of Mulraj by marriage, to take care of Mr. Agnew. From the bridge the distance to the city gate is less than the distance to the city gate (which has the name of Dowlut) from the Am Khas, the residence of Mulraj, and that is about 100 paces, the road lying through a bazaar in the suburbs under the walls of the Am Khas to the Idgah, where Mr. Agnew was encamped. In taking, however, this the regular road the elephant on which Mr. Agnew had been placed was compelled to go a bye-road to escape from the hostile demonstration of the soldiery, whose cantonment surrounds the Am Khas or rather with Mulraj's Palace composes it. Matchlocks were fired as if to warn the party from the direct route and guns were brought out of the cantonment. In the meantime Lieutenant Anderson had been severely wounded in his flight from the scene of the attack upon Agnew and was found beyond the Dowlut gate lying on the ground with seven wounds on himself and four on his horse. He was brought home by some of his own people, but the manner of his being cut down is not clear." Anderson apparently tried to get to the Idgah for help and was pursued by two sowars. It is said that, although he lost his way for a time, he out-distanced them and would have escaped if his horse had not fallen in attempting to jump a water-course somewhere between the Hazuri Bagh and the Idgah.

As regards the onslaught on Agnew the defence made at Mulraj's trial was that the soldier's spear accidentally ran into Agnew as the latter was riding past (p. 167, Trial). The Sikh proclamation of April 22, 1848, represents the assailant of Agnew as having acted without any sort of provocation (p. 150, Parly' Blue Book, Punjáb Vol. 41, 1849). Rumour however invented all sorts of stories, alleging provocation: one of these is given in the ballad reprinted at the end of this Gazetteer; another is that Amira was angry at being called to by Mr. Agnew to get out of the way.

The site of the incident is few yards to the west of the well which lies on the left of the pakka road which leads from the circular road to the Prahládpuri shrine.

'Meanwhile Sirdar Kahn Singh, protected by the presence and assistance of Mulraj's brother-in-law, Rung Ram, whose honest deeds are the only witness worth a straw of the Diwan's good intentions, had extricated Mr. Agnew from the mob, lifted him on to his own elephant and hurried away towards camp, rudely binding up Mr. Agnew's wounds as they rode along. The road lay properly by one end of Moolraj's garden, the Am Khas; but as soon as they emerged from the surburbs, between the fort and garden, a discharge of matchlocks from the latter warned them to come no closer; guns too were being dragged out of the garden gate; so they turned their elephant aside, and took another path; and as they went, a cannon shot from the guns behind them hissed over their heads. Mulraj who had gallopped on before, was in the garden at the time. * * * At last the two wounded Englishmen were brought back to the Idgah. A sad meeting for them, who had gone forth in the morning full of life and health, and zeal, to do their duty. The native doctor of the Goorkha regiment dressed their wounds. This done Mr. Agnew proceeded to report these occurrences to the Resident at Lahore, and then addressed a letter to Diwan Mulraj expressing a generous disbelief in the Diwan's participation, but calling on him to justify this opinion by seizing the guilty parties, and coming himself to the Idgah. This was at 11 A.M. At 2 P.M. Mr. Agnew wrote off to General Cortlandt and myself for assistance. At 4 P.M. one of the Diwan's chief officers, Raezadah Toolsee Das, brought an answer from Mulraj briefly stating "that he could neither give up the guilty nor come himself; that he and Rung Ram had already tried to do so, been stopped by the soldiers, and Rung Ram severely wounded for advising the visit: that all the garrison Hindu and Muhammadan,

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were in rebellion, and the British officers had better see to their own safety." Mr. Agnew seems to have behaved with consummate calmness and heroism at this trying moment. He pointed out to Toolsee Das how grave a matter was in hand, and how absolutely indispensable it was for Diwan Mulraj to call on him, if he wished to be thought innocent. Toolsee Das returned with the admonition, but Mulraj never came. Why should he? The ambassador found the master, who had sent him on a message of peace, now presiding in a war council of his chiefs. The Patháns of the garrison were setting their seals to an oath of allegiance in the Koran; the Hindus in the Shastars, the Sikhs in the Holy Granth. The Sikhs were fastening a war-bracelet on the wrist of Mulraj himself! * *

On the evening and night of the 19th April the whole of the carriage cattle of the officers and their ascort, which were out at graze, were carried off, camels, bullocks, elephants, every beast of burden. Thus was flight cut off. It was necessary for the little camp at the Idgah to face the stern emergency, and prepare for open hostility on the morrow. That night, under Mr. Agnew's personal direction, the six guns which had come from Lahore were mounted in three batteries, and all the soldiers and camp-followers of that luckless expedition were called inside the walls."

20th April. Major Edwardes continues:

"Morning broke, and Mr. Agnew made one last effort to avert the coming tragedy. Having failed with Mulraj, he now forwarded to Mulraj's officers and chiefs the parwanas of the Máhárája, ordering them to make over the fort to Sirdar Kahn Singh, and obey all Mr. Agnew's orders.

"The messengers found Mulraj again in council with his chiefs preparing proclamations to the people of the province to rise and join in the rebellion. They had just agreed, too, to remove their wives and families into the fort before opening the guns. The messengers presented the Máhárája's letters. The chiefs and officers replied that Mulraj was their master, and they would only obey him. The messengers returned and extinguished hope. Mr. Agnew wrote off to Peer Ibraheem Khan, the British Native Agent at Baháwalpur, to bring troops to his assistance, intending to hold out in the Idgah till the reinforcement could arrive.

"All disguise was now thrown aside. The guns of the fort opened on the Idgah as did also the guns at the Am Khas which were dragged on to a high mound hard by. One round alone was fired in return from the six guns in the Idgah, after which the Lahore artillerymen refused to serve the guns. The fire of the rebels never slacked.

"And now arrived an embassy from Mulraj in return for Mr. Agnew's. Mulraj invited the escort to desert the British officers, and promised to raise the pay of every soldier who came over. One Goolab Singh, Commandant of the Ghorchurrahs of the escort, led the way and went over to Mulraj, who tricked the traitor out with gold necklaces and bracelets, and sent him back as a decoy. In vain Mr. Agnew bestowed money on the troops to hold out for three days only. It was honest money. The troops went over,—horse, foot, artillery—all had deserted by the evening, except Sirdar Kahn Singh, some eight or ten faithful horsemen, the domestic servants of the British officers and the Munshis of their office.

"Beneath the lofty centre dome of that empty hall (so strong and formidable that a very few stout hearts could have defended it), stood this miserable group around the beds of the two wounded Englishmen. All hope of resistance being at an end, Mr. Agnew had sent a party to Mulraj to sue for peace. A conference ensued, and 'in the end' says the Diwan's judges, 'it was agreed that the officers were to quit the country, and that the attack upon them was to cease.' Too late! The sun had gone down; twilight was closing in; and the rebel

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army had not tasted blood. An indistinct and distant murmur reached the ears of the few remaining inmates of the Idgah, who were listening for their fate. Louder and louder it grew, until it became a cry, the cry of a multitude for blood! On they came, from city suburbs, fort; soldiers with their arms, citizens, young and old, and of all trades and callings with any weapon they could snatch.

"A company of Mulraj's Muzbees, or outcasts turned Sikhs, led on the mob. It was an appalling sight, and Sirdar Kahn Singh begged of Mr. Agnew to be allowed to wave a sheet and sue for mercy. Weak in body from loss of blood Agnew's heart failed him not. He replied: 'The time for mercy is gone: let none be asked for. They can kill us two if they like; but we are not the last of the English; thousands of Englishmen will come down here when we are gone and annihilate Mulraj, and his soldiers and his fort.' The crowd now rushed in with horrible shouts, made Kahn Singh prisoner, and pushing aside the servants with the butts of their muskets, surrounded the two wounded officers. Lieutenant Anderson from the first had been too much wounded even to move: and now Mr. Agnew was sitting by his bedside holding his hands and talking in English. Doubtless they were bidding each other farewell for all time. Goodhur Singh, a Muzbee, so deformed and crippled with old wounds that he looked more like an imp than mortal man stepped forth from the crowd with a drawn sword, and after insulting Mr. Agnew with a few last indignities struck him twice upon the neck, and with a third blow cut off his head. Some other wretch discharged a musket into the lifeless body. Then Anderson was hacked to death with swords; and afterwards the two bodies were dragged outside, and slashed and insulted by the crowd, then left all night under the sky."

22nd April. The news of the outbreak reached Lieutenant Edwardes, the officer incharge of the Deraját at Dera Fatteh Khan, 90 miles from Multán. He at once began to raise levies, and called for assistance from General Van Cortlandt at Dera Ghází Khan and from the Baháwalpur State.

May. The Government of India decided that no British force should be sent against Multán, but that five columns of troops, belonging to the Sikh Darbar and the Baháwalpur State, should be ordered to converge on the district. In pursuance of this arrangement Edwardes, who was to command the Deráját column, received orders on May 9th to retire and stand fast on the west of the Indus.

6th June. The three columns from the north having all been much delayed, Edwardes received permission to cross the Indus and join the Baháwalpur column which was marching towards Shujábád *viâ* Jalálpur Pírwála.

17th June. The Baháwalpur colum after a long halt at Jalálpur had advanced to Gawen, and the Sikh troops under Rang Ram were encamped across the high road, three miles south of Shujábád. In spite of orders to attack the Daudputras before they were joined by Edwardes, the Sikhs allowed Edwardes to reach the west bank of the Chenáb opposite Panjáni and only moved forward to Bagren on the evening of the 17th. Hearing of their intention Edwardes and the Daudputras agreed to converge at once towards the Kineri ferry which lay on the east bank of the Chenáb near Panjáni.

18th June. Rang Ram finding the ferry occupied by the Daudputras took up a position at the abadi of Nunar, near some old salt pans, in the village area of Panjáni. Edwardes himself crossed the river and reached the Daudputra camp about 8 A.M. in time to bring them into some sort of order. He sent orders for Van Cortlandt to cross with his guns as soon as possible and spent the rest of the morning in waiting till this reinforcement should give him the necessary superiority. The forces were—Rang Ram, 8,000 to 10,000 trained troops: 10 guns. Daudputras, 8,500 troops: 11 guns. Edwardes, 5,000 irregular levies. Van Cortlandt, 1,500 trained troops: 15 guns.

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By 2 P.M. the Daudputras had begun to retire and the enemy commenced moving after them. Edwardes, whose troops remained concealed among the jungle on the left of the line, tried to stave off the enemy by ordering a cavalry charge, and about 3 P.M. the charge was successfully and gallantly carried out by his mounted levies under Faujdar Khan, Alizai. Before the enemy had recovered from the effect of this charge a considerable number of Cortlandt's troops and six of his guns arrived, and Edwardes at once pushed forward out of the jungle into the cultivation beyond. Then he came upon the enemy advancing through the 'long stalks of the sugar' (possibly jowar). Both forces at once commenced an artillery duel, and they were so close as to be able to use grape. As the enemy's fire slackened, one of Van Cortlandt's regiments charged to the front, followed by the whole line of infantry. The enemy retreated but rallied again: and the battle was brought to a close by a wild rush on the part of the Pathán levies which sent the Sikh forces back in full retreat on Nunár. In this engagement (which Edwardes termed 'the Battle of Kineri'*) the enemy lost their whole camp and ammunition, together with 8 out of their 10 guns. (The story now told locally is that Mulraj's intention was to stand at Shujábád, but that the Babla money-lenders gave his commandant Jamiat Rai a large sum of money to move on so as to save their property near Shujábád. It is also said that the Patháns and indeed most of Mulraj's army, except the Gurkhas, were won over before the battle: and that they wore branches of tamarisk in their turbans to show they were friends. The actual hand to hand fighting was at the Ahmduwála well in village Panjáni.

22nd—25th June. The force encamped at Shujábád, a city which had given the rebels much encouragement. Edwardes writes: 'The chowdries, bankers and chief Kuthries (rebels to the backbone all of them) presented themselves and begged for kind treatment. This I readily promised though it is more than they deserve, for they have been supplying Mulraj largely with money, stores and encouragement from the Shastras. The rebellion indeed is a Bunyah rebellion, with a Sikh insurrection grafted on to it. One shroff alone of Shujábád, a mean looking little fellow, undertook to furnish Diwan Mulraj with two months' pay for his army if he would only send them against the Nawáb's troops, a circumstance I shall not forget when we are pressed for cash. Such moneyed men are invaluable in these times.'

26th June. The force advanced took the fort of Sikandarábád.

27th June. The force reached Adibagh (village Táragarh).

28th June. March to Surájkund (village Kayanpur). Lieutenant Lake, in charge of the Baháwalpur troops, joined the camp this day.

1st July. As Mulraj had broken down the bridge on the Wali Muhammad canal at Surájkund, the force moved up the west canal towards Abid Khan ka bagh (village Langriál) and encamped in Tibbi Mansurpur. Meanwhile Mulraj, who had intended to attack at Surájkund, moved back his troops along the east side of the canal and having crossed them at the bridge south of the Lange Khan garden (the only bridge near the city then existing) marched them in the direction of the present cantonments. He took up a position round Siddhu-Hisam (called in the histories Saddosam), close to the place where the Cantonment Railway Station now is: and Edwardes' force turned out to oppose him. An artillery fire was kept up on both sides, but Edwardes had more guns than the Sikhs, and the latter had ultimately to turn and flee to the city hotly pursued by Edwardes'

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* The changes of the river have swept away all traces of the hamlet of Kineri. The Kineras are a tribe of weavers and hamlets called after them are not uncommon in the district. There is a Kaneriwála well close to the site of the battle.

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troops. It is said that Mulraj having crossed the bridge over the canal with his artillery, planted two guns on it to stop his own soldiers from retreating. 'The majority of the enraged fugitives forced the barrier with some loss, but many of them tried to swim the nullah and were drowned.'

6th July. The Darbar's column under Sher Singh, which had marched from Lahore *viâ* Tulamba, Sirdárpur and Gagra, arrived and encamped at Surájkund. The fidelity of these troops was much suspected and Edwardes purposely arranged that he at Tibbi should be between them and the enemy.

10th July. Edwardes having asked for the immediate despatch of artillery to his aid. Sir F. Currie, the Resident at Lahore, decided on his own responsibility to send the required assistance, and orders were issued for the despatch of a division under General Whish containing two British regiments and a siege train: part were to go from Lahore by the Rávi and part from Ferozepore by the Sutlej.

16th August. Edwardes and Sher Singh exchanged encampments; the former moving to Surájkund and the latter to Tibbi. This move was made in order that Edwardes might be in touch with General Whish's force, which was to encamp to the east of Surájkund.

18th-19th August. The Rávi and Sutlej column of General Whish's force joined and encamped at Mári Sital and awaited the arrival of the siege train.

1st September. Edwardes' troops moved across the canal to take up a position nearer General Whish. They dislodged the enemy from the Khuda Yar and Katti Bairagi gardens, from the Jog Maya temple and the village of Daira: and encamped 300 yards south of Jog Maya.

4th September. The siege train arrived from the Sutlej.

7th September. To prevent the enemy from flooding out the force by cutting the canal, steps had been taken by the Engineers to dam up the canal at its head, and this was completed by 7th September. On this day it was decided to attack the city from the S. E., and entrenchments were made between Katti Bairagi and the temple of Ram Tirath.*

9th September. A night attack was made on some gardens and houses in front of the entrenchments, but the attack was repulsed by Mulraj's troops.

12th September. General Whish made a general advance to clear his front. The troops under Van Cortlandt on the west assaulted and took the hamlet of Jamundon-ki-kiri, while the British troops on the east occupied a position known as the Dharmsala.† The capture of the latter made a great impression and is thus described by Edwardes: 'Scarcely a man escaped to tell Mulraj how calmly the young English Engineer, Lieutenant Grindall, planted the scaling ladder in the grim faces of the defenders: how vainly they essayed to hurl it back: how madly rushed up the grenadiers of the 32nd; with what a yell the brave Irish of the 10th dropped down among them from the branches of the trees above: and how like the deadly conflict of the lion and the tiger in a forest den was the grapple of the pale English with the swarthy Sikh in that little walled space the rebels thought so strong. I myself, ten minutes afterwards, saw fully three hundred of Mulraj's soldiers in a heap in that enclosure."

* A prominent landmark still existing on the left of the railway between the Mailsi and Basti Maluk roads.

† This building adjoins the Hindu burning ground, and is clearly seen from the railway train on the right as you approach Multán city from Lahore. The marks of the bullets are still visible. I have been told that the defenders were largely Gurkhas: these would be the remnants of the deserters who had formed Van Agnew's guard.

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14th September. Sher Singh, who had long been wavering, took over his troops *en masse* to the enemy. After this it was impossible for General Whish's force to continue the siege, and as the abandonment of our entrenchments left these works as cover for the enemy it was decided to move the whole force to the west of the canal where it could guard the communications with Baháwalpur and the tracts which supplied food to the army. This change was executed on the 15th and 16th of September, the British troops encamping at Bakhar Arbi and Edwardes at Surájkund. Thus ended the first siege of Multán. During the siege Mulraj issued some rupees in gold which are now rather difficult to procure.

9th October. Sher Singh, who had been received with great distrust by Mulraj determined to march away from Multán and join his father Chattar Singh, who was in open rebellion in the north. He accordingly left Multán, marching by Gagra and Sirdárpur.

During the next three months both sides made strenuous preparations for the siege. The Diwan tried, in vain, to get assistance from outside. A British force assembled at Ferozepore to meet the main Punjáb rebellion in the north and a Bombay army was ordered to advance to help in the siege of Multán.

7th November. The enemy having advanced in front of the British lines were attacked by Edwardes on the west, and General Markham on the east of the canal, and driven back with considerable loss.

10th December—21st. The Bombay column arrived. It included some British seamen who helped in working the guns.

25th-26th December. The Bengal force again encamped at Mári Sital: the Bombay troops between them and the canal: and Edwardes to the west of the canal. It was determined to attack the north-east angle of the Fort and as a preliminary to turn the enemy out of their positions along the eastern face of the city.

27th December. The real object of attack was the Am Khas and Sawan Mal's tomb and these were easily occupied by the right column, while two other columns were making serious diversions to the south. One of them after a struggle occupied the Mandi Ava, a large brick-kiln standing on the left of the road from the Pák gate to Ram Tirath, and the other seized the Sidi Lal Bhir, a high mound close by the present city railway station on the right of the road from the station to the city. These successes led General Whish to modify his previous plan and to direct batteries against the city walls as well as against the fort.

30th December. A shell from our batteries pierced the roof of the Jama Masjid in the fort which was used as a magazine and caused an enormous explosion, destroying 500 of the garrison and 40,000 lbs. of powder.

2nd January 1849. Breaches being reported practicable, a Bengal force was at 3 P.M. sent to attack the Delhi gate of the city, and a Bombay force to attack the Khuni Burj, or Bloody Bastion. The different fortunes of the attacking parties are thus described by Edwardes: "The storming party of the Delhi gate (which was led by a fine soldier, Captain Smyth of the Grenadier Company of Her Majesty's 32nd) had no sooner emerged from the suburbs than they found themselves on the edge of a deep intervening hollow; after crossing which under the heavy fire of matchlocks, they 'found to their surprise the city wall in front about 30 feet in height, unbreached and totally impracticable,' which the hollow had hitherto concealed from both the breaching battery and the Engineers. They had the mortification therefore of retiring, but repaired at once to the breach at the Bloody Bastion to assist their more fortunate comrades in the city. The Bloody Bastion was assaulted by three companies of the 1st Bombay Fusiliers under Captain Leith. They found the breach easy to be surmounted, but it was retrenched inside and a

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most bloody struggle ensued for victory, in which the gallant Leith was severely wounded and carried off the field, but his place being taken by Lieutenant Gray, and Colour-Sergeant John Bennet of the 1st Fusiliers having planted the colours of old England and stood beside it till the flag and staff were riddled with balls, the Fusiliers remembered the legends of their ancient corps, and closing with the rebels, soon made the city of Multán their own." All the southern gates were, in fact, occupied that same afternoon: and next morning the Delhi and Daulat gates were seized. Mulraj shut the gates of the fort, the streets of the city were occupied by the British, though not without resistance: and the remnants of the Sikh force 'scrambling over the western walls or issuing from the Lohári Gate, concealed themselves till night among the Afghán suburbs: then under cover of the darkness dispersed and fled, without gain or honour, to their distant homes.'

21st January. The siege of the fort having been continued with great vigour, two breaches were made, both of which are still clearly visible, one on the north-east near the tomb of Bahawal Haqq and the other on the south-west opposite the Husan Gahi. Orders were accordingly issued for these breaches to be stormed next morning.

22nd January. In a storm of wind and rain the troops prepared for the assault, but at 9 A.M. Mulraj surrendered at discretion; the entire garrison laid down their arms and became prisoners of war.*

Diwan Mulraj was 'taken to Lahore, charged with complicity in the murder of Agnew and Anderson, and found guilty but with extenuating circumstances.'† The view of the commission was that Mulraj had not procured by any overt act the attack on Agnew, but that in his subsequent conduct he was subject to no compulsion beyond the fear of a quarrel with some of his troops (Trial pp. 191—198). He spent in confinement the remainder of a life which was prolonged, only for a short time. He was taken to Calcutta and afterwards to Benares, where he died. His relations and descendants still live in the town of Akálgarh in the Gujránwála District and not a few have been in Government service.

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* There is a brass in the north transept of the cantonment church which commemorates the names of the various regiments engaged in the siege of Multán as follows:—

Bengal Division.

Bengal Artillery, 4 Troops, 1st Brigade, and 4 Troops, 3rd Brigade, Horse Artillery; 2nd Company 2nd Battalion, 3rd Company 3rd Battalion, 4th Company 3rd Battalion, and 6th Company 7th Battalion, Artillery; and 2nd class siege Train.

Bengal Engineers Head-quarters; 1st, 2nd and 3rd Companies, Sappers; 2nd and 3rd Company Pioneers.

Her Majesty's 10th and 32nd Foot.

11th Regiment Light Cavalry and 7th and 11th Irregular Cavalry. 8th, 49th, 51st, 52nd and 72nd Native Infantry, and Queen's Own Corps of Guides.

Bombay Division.

Bombay Artillery, 3rd Troop 1st Brigade Horse Artillery; 2nd Company 1st Battalion, and 4th Company 2nd Battalion, European (Foot) Artillery; 1st and 2nd Companies 4th Battalion, Native (Foot) Artillery.

Bombay Engineers 1st and 2nd Company Sappers. 1st Her Majesty's 60th Rifles and 1st Bombay Fusiliers, 3rd, 4th, 9th and 19th Native Infantry. Indian Navy.

Baháwalpur Contingent.

† See 'the Trial of Mulraj, late Nazim of Multán, from authentic documents printed at the *Delhi Gazette* Press, by Kunnie Lal.' The commission for the trial were Mr. Mansel, C. S., Mr. Montgomery C.S., and Colonel Penny. Mr. L. Bowring appeared for the prosecution and Captain Hamilton for the defence.

BRITISH RULE.

Meantime possession of the district had been taken in the name of the British Government. Multán became the headquarters both of a division and of a district.

The following account of the events of 1857 is taken from the Punjáb Mutiny Report (pages 110—118):—

At the headquarters of the division much anxiety was caused to Major Hamilton, Commissioner, and all the residents, by the presence of two corps of Native Infantry, of whom one, the 69th, was known to be thoroughly bad. The post was an important one, as commanding the only outlet the Punjáb at that time possessed for communication with England, Bombay and Calcutta, &c. The troops were providently disarmed in time, and no outbreak took place. The station of Multán commands the passage down the river from Lahore, and the only post road whereby the Punjáb could communicate with the rest of the world.

At the time of the outbreak it was occupied by the 62nd and 69th Native Infantry, 1st Irregular Cavalry a native troop of horse artillery, and a company of European Artillerymen. The 69th was strongly suspected. The other native troops were considered staunch, and subsequent events verified the supposition in every case. It was necessary to provide a refuge in case of any disturbance. The old fort, which had lain in a ruinous condition since it had been battered and dismantled by the British army in 1849, was put in a position of defence, provisioned, and garrisoned by some men of Captain Tronson's Kuttar Mukhi police battalion. As these arrangements occupied some days, and the temper of the native troops could not be trusted from hour to hour Lieutenant Etheridge of the Indian Navy, who happened to be at Multán with his vessel, was requested to detain the steamer until the fort should have become defensible. With this request Lieutenant Etheridge willingly complied, and the steamer lay off Multán until it was no longer requisite to trust to it as an asylum in case of need. In the early days of May a crowd of sepoys constantly thronged the Multán post office, eagerly asking 'for news,' and 'whether the mail had arrived,' and similar questions, in themselves unusual, and were accompanied by such language and demonstrations as were freely used tending to throw the whole establishment into bodily fear. Family remittances, which the soldiery had hitherto always made through the Government treasury, now ceased to be so made. The payments which the men had made on account of these remittances were boisterously demanded back in cash. The price of gold coin rose rapidly in the exchange markets showing a large demand for portable wealth. Such symptoms of uneasiness (occurring too before any outbreak in the North-Western Provinces) could not but excite the gravest apprehensions in the minds of all European residents; they could not but lead to the conclusion that the soldiery were bent on some mischief or, to say the least, that their confidence in our Government was gone, and they would rather trust their money in their own hand than in ours. When news of the outbreak in the North-Western Provinces reached Multán what had been inexplicable was at once explained, the mystery was revealed; these actions were seen to be part and parcel of a universal and determined design to subvert our rule

Colonel Hicks, commanding at Multán, failed to discover in the conduct of the regiments of native infantry anything which could justify him in taking from them their arms. The Chief Commissioner, however, sent preemptory orders that they were to be disarmed, and on the morning of June 10th the minds of European and native residents were relieved, commerce was re-established, and our authority vindicated by the most successful disarming of the 62nd and 69th

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Native Infantry by Major C. Chamberlain, commanding 1st Irregular Cavalry. The peculiar character of this excellent move was that the European troops were but 48 artillerymen. The other auxiliaries were all natives, and one regiment, the 1st Irregular Cavalry, was composed of Hindústánis. During the whole day the townspeople flocked to the Commissioner, Major Hamilton, expressing their hearty congratulations on the success of the measure, and their own relief at the prospect of immunity from rapine and slaughter. On the 19th and two following days of June the left wing Bombay Fusiliers came in, and about three weeks afterwards the right wing arrived. The imperious requirements of the service, however, forbade the authorities to keep these troops here, and they as well as the trusty Punjábi troops who arrived from time to time were pushed on towards Lahore or Delhi; so that with the exception of the 1st Irregulars the company of artillery and the police battalion, Multán had absolutely no military standby to resist the two full regiments of Native Infantry which were located there. It was an anxious time. If proof of the ill-will of the 69th be required, it is afforded by the facts that the chief native officer of the regiment and 10 men were blown from guns by sentence of court-martial for sedition and intended mutiny; that just before their execution they boasted of their intent and reviled each other for the cowardice displayed in their own past inaction; that when the regiment was disarmed it was found that the artillery (native) had laid the guns, in anticipation of a struggle, directly on the 69th, avoiding the 62nd; and that the demeanour of the corps throughout was insolent and rebellious to the last degree. On the 11th August the horse artillery was disarmed as a precautionary measure. On the same date the enrolment of men for the new 11th Punjáb Infantry was commenced by transferring to it men from other regiments. The Gugera insurrection broke out little more than a month afterwards. The new men at Multán were still undisciplined, and could hardly yet be relied on as a serviceable field force. Most of them were left to guard the station, while Major Chamberlain led out his regiment, the 1st Irregular Cavalry (Hindústánis), with some 200 men of the new levies, against the insurgents. Another cause of anxiety at Multán had been the conduct of the preventive service on the Sutlej. Very many of the men employed in it were Hindústánis. They bolted at the first rise in Hindústán and went off in numbers to join their kindred by blood and by disposition who were enjoying a transient glory over the smouldering ruins of Hánsi and Hissár. Men to take their place were raised in the district, and no serious damage was done to the Government interest by their defection. Under the orders of the Chief Commissioner a camel train was organized, having one of its depôts at Multán. It was designed for the conveyance of private parcels, munitions of war and merchandize between Sind and the Punjáb, and proved most useful. The care of it constituted one of the many miscellaneous duties entailed on Major Voyle, Deputy Commissioner. The duty of preserving the safety of part of the road between Lahore and Multán, especially during and after the Kharral insurrection, was another most anxious charge for him. The number of widowed ladies, wounded officers, and other travellers who passed down this way and who were incapable of protecting themselves, made it very needful that the road should be defended. To this end the Deputy Commissioners of Lahore, Gugera and Multán were desired to locate extra police, both horse and foot, at every road police station. The arrangement was vigorously carried out, and after the end of September, when the road was re-opened, every European traveller was provided with a guard. The mail-carts were also defended in their passage; for until routes opened up through Baháwalpur and Jhang the Punjáb was as regards communication with other localities hermetically sealed.*

* An interesting account of the mutiny in Multán, with a plan showing how Major Chamberlain carried out the disarmament, will be found in Cooper's 'History of the Crisis in the Punjáb.'

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The above account omits any mention of the only serious local outbreak that occurred during the mutiny. The 62nd and 69th Native Infantry Regiments, though disarmed, were kept in cantonment for some months, until in June 1858 orders were issued for their disbandment. In order to prevent the assembly of large bodies of disaffected persons at one spot, it was decided that the disbandment should be carried out gradually in daily bands of 20 men. This order gave rise to the belief that it was the intention of Government either to massacre them in small bodies or to arrange for their seizure on the way to their homes in Hindústán and for their subsequent transportation. The feelings of alarm thus engendered were fostered by mischief-makers and towards the end of August 1858, rumours were current that the disbanded regiments intended to mutiny. No adequate measures were taken to allay their fears and the precautions against an outbreak appear to have been insufficient. On August 31st practically the whole of both regiments mutinied while on parade; they made attacks on the European Artillery and their old lines; murdered the Adjutant of the Bombay Fusiliers and four European Artillerymen; and then broke away in various directions. The Commissioner, Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton, had previously made excellent arrangements for the protection of the city and the civil lines and few of the mutineers broke through the cordon he had drawn.

Of about twelve hundred who mutinied, some three hundred were killed in cantonments, while the remainder escaped into the district. One party numbering about 400 fled southwards past Sher Shah and Shujábád, pursued closely by the tahsíldár of the latter place, the followers of the Makhdum of Sher Shah and the local yeomanry and peasants. At night they split up into two parties, the smaller of which was driven into a low marshy island in the Chenáb, while the larger followed the river towards its junction with the Sutlej. The members of the former body were either drowned in the river or killed or captured by the police and local leaders. The second party was overtaken a few days later by Lieutenant Norgate, who had been sent from Multán with a detachment of cavalry and infantry, and although the mutineers fought desperately, they were practically annihilated.

Another body of rebels had fled northwards up the Chenáb, where they were pursued by a detachment of cavalry which, however, failed to intercept them and the mutineers, crossing the Lahore Road, turned southwards and fled through the *bár* in the direction of Luddan on the Sutlej. The tahsíldár of Serai Siddhu, with all the police he could collect, followed in pursuit and was shortly joined by a large body of Langrials, Hirajs, Sargannas, Traggars and other clans, headed by their chiefs. Ghulam Mustafa Khan, Khákwání, was

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also despatched from Multán with a body of mounted police. The first encounter took place at Karampur on the Diwanwáh Canal, but so desperately did the mutineers fight, that the Government party had to retire with the loss of several killed and wounded, among the latter being Bahawal the chief of the Langriál clan. This was on September 5th. On the same day the force from Serai Siddhu arrived, led by their chiefs and Angat Rai, Tahsíldár. An immediate attack was made and the rebels were completely defeated. No quarter was given and no prisoners were taken. The other mutineers who had escaped from Multán were captured one by one and within a few days of the rising the whole were accounted for.

The most gratifying features of an incident, that might perhaps have been avoided, had more care been taken to allay the fears of the disbanded sepoys, were the thorough and prompt arrangements of the civil authorities and the active loyalty of the local tribes and their chiefs. The mutiny was confined practically to the Hindustáni Regiments. The 11th Punjabi Regiment, which had only recently been raised, gave assistance of very great value in the defence of the cantonments and the dispersal of the rebels.

SECTION C.—POPULATION.

(a) Density and distribution of population.

The density of population per square mile for the district and each tahsíl is given below:—

Tahsil.	Population per square mile.	Population per square mile of cultivation.
Multán	288	*372
Shujábád	193	462
Lodhrán	119	383
Mailsi .	80	301
Khánewál	143	315
Kabírwála	172	377
District	154	399

The relatively high density in the Multán tahsíl is explained by the inclusion of Multán city and cantonments while the low density in Mailsi is due to the extensive areas of Government waste. The pressure of the population per square mile of cultivation is nowhere particularly heavy, and in some tahsíls it is distinctly light.

(b) Towns and villages.

There are in the district three towns only with a population of more than 5,000 souls—Multán, Shujábád and Khánewál. The population of Multán was returned at the last

* Exclusive of Multán city and cantonments.

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(b) Towns and villages.

census at 84,806, of which 10,536 persons were resident in the cantonments. The former figure represented a decrease of 14,437 since 1911, but this apparent fall in population is entirely explained by the fact that, when the enumeration of 1921 was made, a large number of the people had deserted it owing to an unusually severe epidemic of plague.

Shujábád with a population of 6,730 has increased little in size since 1881, and there is in fact little scope for its development. It is situated about five miles east of the Chenáb river, and two miles west of the Shujábád railway station on the N.-W. Railway. The town is chiefly built of brick, and is surrounded by a wall, with four gates ; the Multáni gate on the north, the Mári Mori gate on the east, the Rashid Shah gate on the south, and the Chautáka gate on the west. The city was founded in A.D. 1750 by Nawáb Shuja Khan, who built the present walls in 1767 to 1772. The town was a favourite residence of the Nawáb, and great pains were taken by him to induce Hindus of wealth to live and trade in it. Under Nawáb Muzaffar Khan the prosperity of the town was still further advanced. Besides eight large houses, one for each of his sons, this Nawáb built at considerable cost the Mubárik Mahal, the Samman Burj and the Jaház Mahal. The two former were on the city walls, and have since been destroyed, but the Jaház Mahal is now used as a tahsil. The building received its name either from the fact that it was built more or less in the form of a ship, or as a corruption of 'Hajáz,' its construction having been undertaken immediately after Muzaffar Khan returned from Mecca ; and in the western room there are still to be seen some curious frescoes, which are said to represent Arabian cities. The traveller Masson, who passed Shújábád on his way from Sindh to Lahore, apparently in 1827, wrote of this place (Travels, i, p. 394)—

'Shuján Kot or Shujábád is a considerable fortified town and its lofty battlements, irregularly built, have a picturesque appearance. It has a very excellent bazar, and is the seat of some cotton manufactures, besides being famous for its turners in wood. There is a small garrison, and a few guns are mounted on the walls; near it are several good gardens, particularly one bearing the name of Muzaffar Khan. The town stands in a highly cultivated tract, and for two or three *kos* to the south there were immense fields of sugarcane. The cotton plant is also abundantly grown.'

Shújábád capitulated to Edwardes in 1848 immediately after the action at Kineri, and throughout the siege at Multán it was the site of a considerable Commissariat Depôt. Khánewál has risen to the dignity of a town since 1911 when it was little more than a village. Two events have contributed towards its growth :—the construction of the Khánewál-Lodhrán chord line, and the colonisation of the surrounding areas of waste land. The first has made Khánewál a railway centre of some importance, but it is to the Lower Bári Doáb Colony that the town owes its prosperity.

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Population.

(b) Towns and villages.

The *mandi*, after some years of vicissitude is now in a flourishing state: there are several cotton mills which have increased the demand for labour and the development of the neighbouring estates is steadily adding to the volume of trade. It is the headquarters of a tahsil and has a notified area committee to protect its local interests.

From table 6 in volume B it will be seen that there are 1,647 villages in the district in which live 89 per cent. of the total population and that the average population per village is 482. It must, however, be understood that *village* is coterminous with revenue estate and does not, as in the Central Punjab, connote a common village site within which the population is settled. Except in parts of the Sidhnai and in the Lower Bári Doáb colonies, the well is the unit of population as well as of cultivation, and, away from the rivers, the villages are merely a collection of wells sunk in the neighbourhood of a canal or in favourable spots on the high lands. There is little community of interest, each settler having built his homestead on the well around which he cultivates.

(c) Growth of population.

The variations in population since the census of 1881 are shown in the table below:—

..	1911-1921.	1901-1911	1891-1901.	1881-1891.	Net variation, 1881-1921
Net increase ...	76,051	101,170	74,838	79,105	334,164
Per cent. increase	9	15	12	14	*60*

The population of the district thus increased by 60 per cent. within the period of 40 years, this large rise being due primarily to the colonisation schemes on the Sidhnai and Lower Bári Doáb Canals, and, secondly, to the development of resources that occurred elsewhere. Between 1911 and 1921 the population of the Khánewál tahsíl increased by rather more than 100,000; that of Kabírwála showed a slight rise, while in the remaining four tahsíls there was a decrease which was considerable in Multán. Had it not been for the Lower Bári Doáb Colonisation, there would have been an appreciable decline in the district as a whole; but as already explained the census was made at a time when an epidemic of plague had caused many people to leave the district. The chief cause, however, of the failure of the population to keep pace with the growth of natural resources was the influenza epidemic of 1918 during which the death-roll was extremely heavy.

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(d) Migration.

The figures relating to migration will be found in table 8 of Volume B. They are summarized below:—

	Canal colonies.	Other British districts.	Punjab States.	Outside the Province.
Migration to Multan from—	6,861	20,834	...	..
Migration from Multan to —	...	...	3,683	1,024
Net immigration 22,988.				

The district thus gained nearly 23,000 persons as a result of migration between 1911 and 1921, the chief if not the only cause of this gain being the colonisation of the Khánewál tahsíl. The same factor explains the migration within the district for although attempts were made to check the economic loss to the rest of the district from an exodus of tenants to the canal areas, these met with only partial success. Of the outside districts, Lyallpur furnished a large number of tenants. The loss to the Punjáb States is largely explained by migration to Baháwalpur.

(e) Age statistics.

The statisties relating to age will be found in table No. 10. The only feature that calls for remark is the rarity of early marriages among both sexes and the relatively late age at which the ordinary man marries. On the other hand, there are few men and still fewer women of more than 40 years of age who are unmarried.

(f) Vital statistics.

Table 11 gives the vital statistics of the district. They are based, for the years given and so far as rural areas are concerned, on the reports of village watchmen, and they can only be accepted as fairly accurate. The excess shown of the male over female birth rate is almost certainly due to faulty record, and it may similarly be doubted whether the figures correctly represent the relative death-rates of the two sexes. Excluding the year 1918 which was abnormal, the average birth-rate for five years preceding 1921 was 38 and the average death-rate 28, these figures being in each case below the provincial average.

(g) Diseases.

Multán has not had a serious epidemic of cholera for many years, and smallpox ordinarily accounts for but a small proportion of the deaths. The district has also been comparatively immune from plague, and until 1918, when 2,400 deaths were reported from this cause, the cases were sporadic and few. Since 1918, there have been several outbreaks, but of minor severity, although more severe than is indicated by the statistics above. Fevers are by far the most common cause to which death is attributed, and, if the vital statistics are to be accepted, they explain well over 90 per cent. of the

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(g) Diseases.

mortality in an ordinary year. But to the village watchman fever is a very comprehensive term which includes pneumonia, many cases of plague, influenza and almost every ill to which flesh is heir ; and as Multán, with the exception of the area that is inundated from the Chenáb, is not a bad malarial district, it may be assumed that the evil record given to fever in the Government returns is far from just.

In common with the rest of the province, Multán suffered very severely from the terrible epidemic of influenza that occurred in the last quarter of 1918. The death-rate from this disease alone was estimated at 53·9 *per mille* and during October and November the population, in towns and villages alike, was paralysed by a calamity to which they knew no parallel. In the rural areas it was impracticable to organize relief measures of any value. The medical staff available could not cope with the situation in the towns, and the illiteracy of the ordinary villager made it almost impossible to publish advice regarding simple precautions and expedients. For the time being, agricultural operations practically ceased, the dead lay unburied or unburnt, and the sick had to care for themselves as best they could. As elsewhere, the disease took a very heavy toll of young adults including very many women of child-bearing age, and generally the mortality among women was much heavier than among men.

(h) Infant mortality and birth customs.

The mortality among children is high, the causes being the same as in other parts of India—ignorance, poverty, dirt and neglect of the most elementary principles of hygiene. The recent institution of Health Weeks in which special prominence is given to infant welfare, will, it is hoped, do something to reduce this unnecesary drain on the population ; but it will be many years before an improvement is manifest in the rural areas.

(i) Sex statistics.

The proportion of males to females at the various censuses is as follows :—

	1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.	1921.
Number of females per thousand males.	813	819	830	832	824
Number of females per thousand males among Muhammadans.	827	831	842	842	837
Number of females per thousand males among Hindus.	779	791	797	781	785

The decrease in the relative proportion of females in the decade ending 1921 is explained by two causes, firstly, th higher mortality among women during the influenza epidemic of 1918, and, secondly, the advent of a certain number of colonists without their wives and families.

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(j) Statistics of civil conditions.

The statistics of civil conditions will be found in table 10, Part B. The only point that calls for remark is the narrow limits within which polygamy is observed. Among Hindus the number of married men is actually more than the number of married females, while among Muhammadans the excess of the latter is nominal—138,829 to 138,572.

Birth customs among Hindus.

In Multán city the Aroras have a custom called 'aroe.' When a woman is in her first pregnancy, and has reached the fifth month, a kind of sweetmeat is prepared by the woman's parents : a little is put in her lap, and the rest is divided among the relations.

In the seventh or eighth month the custom of *kanji* is observed. In the villages the woman's relations send her clothes for herself and her husband, with trays of sweetmeat. The neighbours then collect together, and concoctions of flour, salt and ghi and sweet sherbet are distributed. This custom is observed in the first pregnancy only.

If a son is born, it is customary, some six days after birth, to call in the relations, and the mother, in the presence of the females of the family, gives the child the breast ; this ceremony is known as 'thanj pilána' and it is accompanied with gifts and a certain amount of feasting. On the seventh day the mother is bathed ; so, again, on the thirteenth day, when she is further adorned with surma, &c., and food is distributed. Some time after, the child who has hitherto been naked or in swaddling clothes, is clothed in a 'chola,' either at the shrine of some pír, or at Deví's temple, or in the house of the family. On this occasion sweetmeats are distributed, and the Brahman, after reverencing Ganesh, puts the 'chola' on the child.

At some interval after birth comes the ceremony of 'Jhandían,' when the child's hair is shaved by the nai—sometimes at home, sometimes at some place by a well or under a pipal tree, and sometimes at the shrine of the Sitla Devi, or at that of Baháwal Haqq or Sakhi Sarwar. In some families the children's hair is shaved by turns on the suitable days, and sometimes a boy grows to a considerable age before the time comes for his hair to be cut ; but if the ceremony is performed at the Ganges, all the children have their hair cut at once. Some people perform the ceremony four or five times a year. In the fifth year, on the day of Akhantrij, they begin to teach the boy lessons. When he is from 7 to 11 years old, they go on some favourable day to a river or canal, or to some shrine, Hindu or Muhammadan, and, having collected their relations, the Brahman puts on the janeo or sacred thread. The boy is then clothed in new garments, the old ones being given to the nai, his ears are bored, the Brahmans are again feasted, and presents of clothes, &c., are given to the boy.

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Birth customs among Muhammadans.

During pregnancy a Muhammadan mother also observes the custom of 'kanji'. From the fifth to the seventh month she neglects her appearance, omits to use henna, to cut her nails, to wear new clothes, &c. In the seventh month she calls in her friends and relations and gives a feast, at which the nai's wife sings 'doras' or couplets. The woman is then washed and her forehead marked with sandal, after which she resumes her ordinary habits.

Soon after birth the child is washed by the dai, and the mulla or kází is at once called to whisper the 'báng'* in the child's ear. If the kázi is not available then the duty is performed by some other man. The dai then proceeds to inform the neighbours, and receives a congratulatory present from each. The brotherhood are on the same day presented with a concoction of zíra and sugar cooked in ghi, which is known as 'Phal zira,' and for some fifteen to twenty days there are rejoicings, with singing and dancing, up to midnight. On the third day the child's name is chosen ; this is generally done on the advice of the mulla or of an astrologer, but sometimes the Korán is opened at random, and the first letter of the page is taken to intimate the first letter of the name to be adopted. As elsewhere, the child of poor parents is brought up by the mother ; that of rich parents by the dai, Patháns generally employ Biloch women (camel graziers) as dais. On the sixth day (known as the 'satthi' the brotherhood is fed with milk and rice, with white sugar in it, and then the child's hand is washed in milk which is afterwards thrown away on some high spot of ground. On the seventh, ninth or eleventh day (but sometimes after three months or a year) comes the ceremony of akíka or 'jhand utárná,' *i.e.*, shaving the child's head: on which occasion (unless the parents are too poor) two goats are killed if the child is a boy, and one goat if it is a girl ; or a he-goat for a boy, and a she-goat for a girl ; and the bones of the slaughtered goat are buried. The mother is then washed and clothed in red clothes, and cakes are distributed. When the child's head has been shaved a present is sent to the nai. At birth there is generally an attendance of bards (bhánd), eunuchs (khusrá), quack doctors (kátímár and silmár) and fakirs of all sorts, who duly receive presents from the family.

There is no fixed rule as to the date for circumcision (khatna): some families have it done on the second or third day, while others put it off to the fifth or sixth year. The operator is always a Piráhin or follower of Sakhi Sarwar, and many come from Shahkot in the Multán tahsíl, where Zain-ul-Abadin, the father of Sakhi Sarwar, is buried. The parents, if well off, generally arrange for a good deal of tom-tom

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* The meaning of the words used is,—Say there is but one God, who is great and Muhammad is His Prophet. There is but one God.

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beating for each of the two or three nights preceding the ceremony; and among the richer classes performances by dancing girls are added, though these are not favourably viewed by the stricter Muhammadans. On the night chosen food is distributed, and the child is then clothed in red and seated on a slab of wood or clay for the operation. When it is over the neighbours give their 'tambol' or presents. When the wound heals this is taken as the excuse for another distribution of food, &c., but on a smaller scale. The expenditure on circumcision ceremonies is, however, much less extensive than in the Punjáb proper, and in ordinary families the expenditure ranges between 25 rupees and 4 annas.

Marriage customs among the Hindus.

If the proposal of marriage among Hindus comes from the girl's parents, no special ceremonies of betrothal are customary. If it comes from the boy's parents, some five or six of the boy's relations go on a favourable day to the girl's house, when they present a couple of rupees and a few vegetables, and sometimes some clothes. They then receive some small present in money, known as 'múra,' and the betrothal is complete. The cost of a betrothal seldom exceeds Rs. 15 in this district, whereas in the Central Punjáb hundreds of rupees are squandered over it.

The next movement, known as the 'Kaj Ganetra,' is on the part of the Brahman, who gives to each party a paper showing the exact date and hour which is auspicious for each part of the marriage ceremony. Shortly before the marriage the female relations of both sides join together for a formal grinding of a few grains of wheat; this is known as 'chung'; and after this the near relations of the bride quarter themselves on the bride's house till the marriage is over. Then follows the 'Deo Asthápan' or invocation of the manes, and the 'Nawighri' or adoration of the planets. On the latter occasion food is distributed to the relations, and the males who receive food are supposed to return something by way of 'tambol.' Meanwhile gifts, known as 'mura,' are constantly passing from the house of the bride to that of the bridegroom, and as the marriage day draws near the ceremony of anointing ('tel charháná') is gone through. The bridegroom's head is anointed, and the vessel containing the oil is then sent to the bride, whose head is also anointed forthwith.

On the marriage day the bridegroom has a silver crown, known as 'mukat,' put upon his head, and he is mounted on a horse. In some cases he is also given a paper umbrella. Another boy, known as the 'sarbálá' or 'sabála' (generally his brother-in-law), sits behind him, and the male relations follow. The procession, contrary to Punjab usage, generally includes women. As the procession starts the bridegroom cuts a branch of a jand tree with a knife, and then moves on to the bride's village. The bride's father advances a short distance and greets the visitors with the words 'Rám Rám:'

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Marriage customs among the Hindus.

hence this part of the ceremony, known in the Punjab as the 'Milni' is here called the 'Rám Rám.' In some cases the bride is then brought out and made to pass under the horse's belly. Presents known as 'ghál' are then given to the boy, and the boy, after dismounting, is respectfully greeted by his future father-in-law. A few of the relations follow the boy into the house, but the rest (contrary to the usage of the Central Punjáb) return to their homes without partaking of any hospitality. Among the Aroras food, known as *junj*, is then distributed. It is then customary for the men of the bridegroom's party and the women of the bride's party to sing abusive songs against each other ('dohá,' 'sakhián,' 'sitthrián'). The boy and the girl are then confronted, the Brahman recites the formulas of marriage on behalf of both parties, and the bride and bridegroom join their right hands. The bride's father then recites the names of the three nearest male ancestors of the bridegroom and of the bride, and pours water into the bridegroom's hand. This is known as the 'sankalp' or offering ceremony, and the bridegroom says: 'Svasti' in reply. The Brahman then utters some mantras, the bride's face is shown to the bridgeroom, and the 'hom' offerings are made to the gods. The parties then walk seven times round the fire, and the bridegroom having gone through a general conversation with the bride, the ceremony is brought to a close by the bride being placed in a palanquin and carried to her husband's house.

Later on the bridegroom's father goes with a small party to the bride's home, and then receives the dáj or dower: this visit is known as 'warísúí.' The married couple then go to the bride's house to perform the ceremony of 'phera,' which is followed the next evening by the 'sirmel' or completion of the marriage.

The Kirars have a sort of dance known as 'chhej' or 'gátkás' which they are fond of executing at a marriage. It consists of a company of men moving slowly round and clashing together small sticks, which they hold in their hands.

The Hindus of this district, though well enough off, are much more economical in their marriages than those of the Central Punjáb; and it is said that the total expenses of a marriage seldom exceed Rs. 600 or Rs. 800 to either party, even in the wealthiest families. The 'tambol' given is any sum from Rs. 10 to Re. 1 and seldom exceeds the latter sum. Careful accounts are kept of the 'tambol' given and received.

Marriage customs among the Muhammadans.

Betrothal ('mangna') among Muhammadans takes place at any age. Very often a boy or young man becomes betrothed to some girl of the neighbourhood, not infrequently to a first cousin, much in the same way as in European countries: the selection being made either by the parents, or, if the youth is grown up, by the youth himself. The girl, too, has a greater say in the matter than is usual in India, and very

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often she has a very fair acquaintance with her future husband before marriage. Instances of girls refusing to marry the husbands selected for them are not uncommon. If there is no one suitable in the neighbourhood, some common friend is got by the boy's relations to arrange a betrothal with a suitable family, and the family, after making the necessary enquiries, send word that they agree. An auspicious day having then been fixed, the boy's male relations, and sometimes the female relations also, come in a body to the girl's family. Here they are fed with ' patása ' and rice, and sometimes with milk and fruits also. The prayer of blessing (' fatiha-i-khair '*) is then pronounced, and clothes and jewellery are put on to the girl. Poor people content themselves with putting on a ring, or a bracelet only ; others give more numerous and more valuable gifts on this occasion. During the period of betrothal small presents of fruit are sent by the boy's relations to those of the girl every year at the 'Id. Children are betrothed at a much later age than in the Punjab proper, and the expenses incurred on the attendant rejoicings are comparatively small.

The betrothed girl is known as the ' kwár, ' and the boy as the ' ghot.' When the time comes the parties arrange for a suitable date for the wedding, and the relations on both sides are informed. This is done by sending round a thick coloured thread (called ' mauli '), which is tied together at the ends.

Some ten days before marriage the ceremony of ' unplaiting the braids ' ('mendhi kholna ') takes place. Some days before the marriage the bride is kept in-doors and is rubbed by the ' nain ' or barber woman with a cosmetic called ' watu '; this ceremony is known as ' mangan. ' On the night of the marriage, or a day or two before, both bride and bridegroom are marked with henna by the mirásin. On the marriage night the procession (barát) starts, composed not only of men (as in the Punjab proper), but of both men and women ; a crown of flowers is put on the bridegroom's head, and an immense amount of tom-toming goes on. When the procession reaches the bride's house fireworks are let off, and the bride's women-folk throw flowers at the men in the procession. The procession, it may be noted, does not halt outside the village as is usual in the Central Punjab, but goes straight to the bride's house, and sometimes the bridegroom's party return without being even offered food. Then follows the answer of acknowledgment (' íjáb-kabúl ') which constitutes the marriage or ' nikáh '. The girl is inside the house, while the bridegroom sits outside with his two witnesses and his vakíl (intermediary). The vakíl going to the girl asks her if she accepts the bridegroom for her husband, and her

* ' May God preserve this connection and may the bridegroom and bride prosper.'

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answer is communicated to the kázi. Then the vakíl asks the bridegroom if he accepts the bride for his wife, and when he accepts the parties are congratulated. The 'hakk mahr' or dower is also fixed (a sum which among ordinary zamindars averages about 35 rupees), and the 'khutba' is recited.

When the service has been read ('nikáh khwáni') *til* and brown sugar are distributed. The clothes of both parties are taken off and given to the nai, and fresh clothes are put on. A present of clothes and jewels (known as the 'warí') is then made by the bridegroom to the bride, and sometimes presents are made to the bridegroom's near relations also. Alms ('jhajri') are then distributed to the bards, fakirs and the quacks in attendance, and to kamíns such as the Mirási, Kumhár, Chuhra, &c., who bring flowers. The bride is then taken to her husband's house not in a palanquin, as in the Punjab, but on a camel.

Some three to seven days after marriage occurs the 'satwara', that is to say, sweetmeats are taken by the bride's people to the bridegroom's house: the bride is then taken back to her house, the 'mírásin' is called, and songs and feasting take place. Two or three days later the 'putrete' (*i.e.*, the boy's mother or sister or near female relations) come to take away the bride, who is then dismissed from her home with more presents of food and clothing.

There is another custom in Multán which is not prevalent in the Punjab proper. It is known as 'sir-mel' or the joining of heads. Either at the marriage or a few days after, the náin and mírásin, singing together, take the bride and bridegroom into a closed room, where they place the bride's hand in that of the bridegroom and leave them alone. In this district the marriage is not considered complete until this ceremony has been gone through.

Marriage and the position of women.

Expenditure on marriages is, compared with that prevalent in the Central Punjab, quite small; except in the cities and among the more prominent families of the Syads and Kureshis, there is not much inclination to extravagance; and in ordinary zamindar families the sum spent seldom exceeds Rs. 100. The food used is generally cheap; the ghi and rice cost comparatively little; and the custom of 'sot' (by which small coins are thrown about over the head of the bridegroom) is unknown. Fireworks are only used in about 5 per cent. of the marriages, and dancing girls are very seldom invited, the dancing being often done by the women of the household. Dowries, too, are very small. The Khákwánís and other Patháns have the sense to spend very little on their circumcision and marriage ceremonies, and there is a proverb that a Khákwáni circumcision does not cost more than a pitcher of sherbet, and a Khákwáni marriage not more than a priest's fee.

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There is not much polygamy in the district, but it is commoner than in the Punjab proper. The Hindus only marry a second wife when the first is barren; but a second wife among Muhammadans is by no means rare. It is of course pretty common among the richer classes, but one occasionally comes across instances of very poor men with several wives; and it is much easier for a man to get a second wife in Multán during the lifetime of the first than it is in the centre and east of the province. The bigger men when they marry two or more wives often provide them with separate establishments on separate wells or in separate villages, so as to prevent the discord which is apt to ensue when they are in too close proximity to each other. It is said, however, that co-wives live together in greater amity in Multán than is usual elsewhere.

The remarriage of widows is common enough among Muhammadans, though discouraged among the Makhdums and prominent Syad families. Among Hindus it is rare. The 'karewa,' or marriage with a deceased husband's brother, is very uncommon in this district.

Among the bulk of the Muhammadans of the district the position of women is in some ways very free. Except in the cities and among Syads and Sheikhs, they enter freely into conversation with men, greet them by shaking hands and are in many respects on a level with them. Marriage, too, is attended with few restrictions. The Syads, it is true, will not give their daughters to other tribes, and very few tribes will give their daughters to very lowest castes, such as Chúhras. By far the greater number of the tribes of the district, however, intermarry freely: marriage, as a rule, does not take place till the parties are grown up, and the woman in many cases has a distinct say in the matter.* This freedom has of course its other side. Where women are married unhappily, or married against their will, there is good deal of immorality, and there are always a large crop of abduction cases before the courts. The injured husband seldom wishes to wreak vengeance on his wife, his love or his sense of propriety prevailing, as a rule, over his jealousy or sense of honour: and instances of blindly, infatuated husbands welcoming back the most impossible of wives are very common. There is none of that objection, so common in other parts of India, to marriage in the tribe or family. Under the conditions of family life prevailing in the district, the young men naturally see most of their near relations and cousins, and the marriage of cousins especially among the higher classes (where the preservation of the property in the family is a consideration), is remark-

* How little any one else has to say to it is indicated by the proverb 'Ghot kwár rází ko karesi Mulán Kází'? (If the bride and bridegroom want to be married, what can the clergyman do but marry them?)

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ably common. The marriage of men of position with women of the more disreputable castes, such as the Pernís and the Kanjrís, is not infrequent; such unions do not escape a certain stigma which attaches to the offspring also: but not a few prominent and intelligent men in the district are the result of marriages of this kind.

The authority of woman in the household, among both rich and poor, is very extensive; and most of the money transactions pass through her hands. It is she who decides what the family shall eat and how much the husband shall spend. The marriages, too, are mainly settled by her, and the men have merely to consent. The fact that the women grind corn and cook food with their own hands, even in the most respectable families, does not in the least militate against their superiority in household matters, such duties being looked upon as proper accomplishments for women of all classes. Many a young man, too, separates from his parents and lives in a separate house at the instigation of his wife. And in most walks of life the Multáni finds that 'hukm-i-jorújí bih az hukm-i-khudá') ('vox mulieris, vox Dei').

Among the Hindus the women enjoy much less freedom than among the Muhammadans: they do not walk abroad unveiled, or talk with men in public, and are not supposed to talk even in-doors with their elder male relations. Their behaviour is much less open to comment than that of the Muhammadan women: any indiscretions which they may be guilty of are hushed up, and cases of abduction of Hindu women are exceedingly rare in the law courts.

The proverbial philosophy of the district, much of which is the product of women's brains, is peculiarly rich in its allusions to women and to the married state. As is usual in other districts also, there are pithy comparisons between the points of a woman and those of a horse: the former should be tall, thin, straight and narrow in the waist, while the latter, should be none of these things—the latter should be short, with a thick barrel and wrinkled forehead, which things in the former are to be abhorred. A woman who stays at home has always the preference: 'Andar baithí, lakh dí ; báhar gayí kakh dí' (Who stays at home is worth a lakh ; who wanders out is worth a straw). 'Treí kam kharáb: mard nún chakkí ; sandhe nún gáh ; ran nún ráh.' (Three things are bad: grinding for a man, threshing for a buffalo, and travelling for a woman). A woman is glad of any excuse to be away from home: 'Ran gaí syápe, ghar áwe tán jápe' (If a woman goes to a mourning, one cannot tell when she will be home till she actually is home). At the same time, no scandal can hurt a woman of real character: 'Ap takrí, kaun laí phakrí ?') (If she is worth anything, who will say anything against her ?) The difficulty which mothers have in looking after their girls is compared to that of keeping lamps

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Marriage and the position of women.

made of flour: 'Ata de diwe báhar rakhán tán kán ghinn vanjan; andar rakhán tán chúhe khánwan' (If you put them outside, crows fly off with them; if you keep them indoors, rats eat them). When the rich Cophetua marries the beggar maid, they say: 'Chundí ái tote, te án balhái kote' (She used to gather sticks, and he placed her in a palace). In praise of the 'whole duty of woman,' they say: 'Saían bháni te kamlí bi siáni' (If her husband is pleased, even the foolish wife shows intelligence). Of the uxorious husband, they say: 'Bíbí múnh na láe, mián shakkar vandáe,' (The lady hates the sight of him, yet her lord from sheer delight feasts his friends). In Multan, as elsewhere, the wife is a curtain lecturer: 'Ran sawar da jinn' (The demon of the bed quilt). And her master retorts with sayings such as: 'Ghore nún tallá, ran nún khallá' (Grass for a horse, shoe-beating for a woman), and 'Chor kún chattí, kutte kún gattí, ran kún chakkí; A fine for a thief, a fetter for a dog and a millstone for a woman). 'Ann dí thaggí khándian torí; kapre dí thaggí handendian torí; ran di thaggi sári mudd' (Grain is only bad while you eat it; clothes only bad while you wear them; but a wife is bad for the whole of your life). 'Ran milí kupattí ná märí ná sáttí, ghaib dí chatti (He got a bad wife and could neither beat her nor divorce: this is one of God's mysterious visitations). The slatternly housewife comes in for her share of blame: 'Ayá welá sotá, te kuchajji kunna dhotá' (It is time to go to bed, and the foolish woman begins to clean the cooking things). 'Rotián pakáwe dú, angíthián bhanne trae' (To cook two loaves, she broke three cooking-grates). The result of constant small extravagances is noted in: 'Haule haule chugge, sunj karende jhugge' (Slow pecking brings down the house). The usefulness of marriage is indicated by the saying: 'Chhare karnán de sare, áp pakende rotián, áp bharendi gharre' (The bachelor's lot is not a happy one: he has himself to cook the food, himself to lift the water-pots). There are also the time-honoured jests about a woman in her husband's absence: 'Piá nahín ghar, bíbí kún káin dá dar?' (When he is not at home, who is the lady afraid of ?). If her husband displeases her, she has always her presents' house at hand: 'Ruchí kún pekián dá sanehâ' (The moment she gets angry, a message comes from her father's house to fetch her.) 'Jihn de peke nere, oh pairân nál kahere.' (If her father's house is near, she is constantly running over there). 'Dhandì paundi pekian di dar te.' (She is constantly at her father's house*). Her own relations alone receive any attention from her: 'Ayá zâl dá sakká shatak manna pakka; áyá mard dá sakká devis dharm dá dhikka'. (When the wife's relation came, she at once cooked a loaf. When her husband's relations came, she said: "Push him out of the door").

* The proverb is applied to persons who come to see you so frequently as to become a nuisance.

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(k) Language.

Of the languages in use among the people the most interesting is Jatki or Multáni, which in 1921 was spoken by 826,549 persons in the district. A full account of the language will be found in Volume VIII, Part I, of Sir George Grierson's "Linguistic Survey of India," from which the following information has been mostly taken. As a separate language, it has long been recognised under various names, such as Jatki, Multáni, Hindki and Western Punjabi. Sir George Grierson, however, preferred the name 'Lahnda'—the Language of the West—and he distinguished three main dialects, a southern or standard, a north-eastern and a north-western, each of which has several sub-dialects. Multáni is a variant of the southern dialect, which is spoken in its most pure form in the Shahpur and adjacent districts. It is found in the districts of Multán, Muzaffargarh and Dera Ghází Khan and in the north of the Baháwalpur State, and is the common language of considerably more than two million persons. 'Lahnda' is not, as is sometimes supposed, a derivative of Punjabi. On the contrary, the latter has displaced the former in parts of the Punjab, over the whole of which some language akin to the modern 'Lahnda' was once spoken. In the eastern Punjab, the latter has been ousted by Punjabi, a language belonging to the Central Indo-Aryán group and hailing from the Doáb of the Ganges, but, as one proceeds westwards, the influence of Punjabi declines until 'Lahnda' is found firmly established in the Jhang and Multán districts. The original home of 'Lahnda' is to be sought to the west and north-west of the Punjab. Its parentage is of Dardic origin, and the language as now spoken in Multán bears a distinct relationship to the present tongue of the Dards of Káshmír. In the Punjab, two distinct languages fought for supremacy—the Dardic which expanded from the Indus eastwards, and the old Midland Language which spread from the Jamna Valley westwards. Punjabi represents the commingling of the two with the latter element dominant: 'Lahnda' is a similar mixture with the Dardic element predominating.

'Lahnda' has no written character of its own, contains no prose literature, and the poetic compositions are seldom committed to writing. The 'landa' or clipped alphabet which is closely allied to the 'takri' of the Punjab Hills is in common use, but the script is more often illegible than not.

Among the characteristic features of Multáni may be mentioned the use of the future in 's', *e.g.*, (karesán for karúngá); the passive in 'i' (*e.g.*, maríndá hán for márá játá hún) and the use of the verb vanjan "to go" in place of 'jána,' both as an ordinary intransitive and as an auxiliary. The vocabulary differs much from that of the Central Punjab, and as might be expected from the religion of the

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(*k*) Language.

majority who speak it, contains a larger admixture of Persian and Arabic words. To the student may be recomme[nd]ed—Mr. O'Brien's "Glossary of the Multáni Languag[e]," as revised by Sir James Wilson and Rai Bahadur Pandit Hari Kishan Kaul.

(*l*) Races and Tribes.

The figures showing the distribution of the various tribes and castes will be found in table 15 of Volume B. There are few tribes peculiar to the district, and generally speaking a particular tribe has the same characteristics in Multán as in other parts of the Province

Hindu castes and tribes.

Among the Hindus four castes only are numerous, *viz.*, the Brahmans, the Khatrís, the Aroras and the Bhátias.

1901	...	5,571
1911		5,924
1921	...	5,948

The *Brahmans* are for the most part confined to the towns, and such landed property as they possess is owned generally in connection with shrines and dharmsálas of which they are the incumbents. The Brahmans held a city in the north of Kabírwála in Alexander's time, and there is some temptation to connect that city with Tulamba, where the most prominent landholding families are still Brahmans. The Brahmans of the district are mainly Sársuts, but Pushkarna Brahmans are also not uncommon especially in Shujábád, where they are the 'parohits' of the 'Bhátias'.

1901	..	10,873
1911	.	11,926
1921	...	10,076

The '*Khatrís*' are mainly confined to the town of Multán, and very few own any land. They are largely immigrants from the Punjab proper and often in Government service. The Khatrís of this district are chiefly Mirhotras, Khannas and Kapúrs.

1901	...	68,987
1911	...	95,904
1921	...	1,00,637

By far the largest number of Hindus in the district belong to the Arora caste ; and there are more Aroras in Multán than in any other district of the Punjáb. They are also called Karárs—a term which in this district is practically synonymous with Arora, though derogatory in its application. They constitute the bulk of the trading, shop-keeping and money-lending element; they enter freely into Government service, and they possess in proprietary right, or on mortgage, a vast amount of land. They are mainly of the Dakhna section, though Utrádhís and Dahras are not uncommon. The three sections do not intermarry, but the 'gots' within each section are, as usual, exogamous. The most prominent families among the land owning Aroras are the Bajájs of Sikandarábád, the Jáwas of Traggar, the Munjals of Ubaora, the Batras of Khanpur, the Tanejás of Garhí Kichían, the Talejas of Wahi Salámat Rái, the Chughs, Gands and Relans of Tulamba.

The Arora being the peasant's creditor and natural enemy comes in for as much proverbial abuse as the attorney in

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Hindu castes and tribes.

England. 'Bhuke Karár wahíán pharole' (If a Karár is hard up, he turns over his account books (to fish up forgotten debts): or 'Kán, Karár, kutte da, visáh na kija sutte da' (A crow, a Karár and a dog should not be trusted even if asleep), or 'Jat waddhe tán ráh baddhe, Karár waddhe tàn Jat baddhe' ('If a Jat prospers, he blocks the road (by extending cultivation); if a Karár prospers, he blocks the Jat'): or 'Dhátá Karár te bhuká bhagiár' (A Karár after his morning bath is as cross tempered as a hungry wolf). Or again: 'Karár dandálí te Khoja pháwara' (The Khoja is a hoe, but the Karár is a rake, *i.e.*, he destroys wholesale).

The chief clans of the Aroras in this district are:—Dakhnas, Bajáj, Taneja, Raheja, Batra, Gera, Sadána, Chopra, Kukar, Lulla, Munjál, Ghakkar, Saneja, Khaneja, Juneja, Doreja, Mehndiratta, Giddar; Utrádhís, Khorána, Cháwala, Nángpál, Thakrál, Sethí, Kukreja, Thareja; Dahras—Sachdev, Nángpál, Ichhalání. The existence of what appear like totem clans (such as Kukar and Giddar, from which the villages of Kukar Hatta and Sabz Giddar obtain their names) may be marked.* The Aroras (especially in the villages) are not very orthodox, and remarriage of widows is not unknown among them.

There remain the *Bhátias*, who, though one of the smaller Hindu tribes, are remarkable for the firm hold they have got on the land in the neighbourhood of Shujábád. They belong to the same tribes as the Bhátias of the lower Indus, and are believed to have been originally Rájpúts. The chief clan in this district is the Babla, which traces its origin to an ancestor of this name, and which had its original seat in this district at Mári Nún, a few miles east of Shujábád. The chief members of this clan made themselves exceedingly useful to the Multán Nawábs, and took full advantage of the opportunities which Sáwan Mal's *régime* gave to capitalists for the acquisition of land. The leading men among the Bablas and other Bhátia clans are known as Chaudhrís, and the Chaudhrís of Shujábád are renowned for their enterprise, business-like habits and successful agriculture. The Bhátias are rather strict Hindús, they eschew smoking and widow remarriage and abstain from meat and spirits.

Mussalman tribes—Syads, Koreshis, etc.

1901 ...	16,567
1911 ...	11,695
1921 ...	13,830

The Syads are, properly speaking, the descendants of Ali who married Bíbí Fátima, the daughter of the Prophet; but it is impossible to say how many of the persons claiming to be Syads can establish their descent. The Syads in this district mostly belong to the more important families—the Gilánís, Gardezís,

* Other such clans are the Nángpál, Nangrú, Gahlar, Gera, Mehndiratta, Cháwala, Pabreja, Taneja and Kataria. The Kukars are said to avoid eating poultry, the Nángpáls to avoid killing snakes, the Mehndirattas, to avoid planting henna, and so forth: but these rules are by no means strictly observed.

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Mussalman tribes—Syads, Koreshis, etc.

and so forth, who are described further on in this chapter; but many are men of comparatively obscure position. In addition to the families there mentioned, there is a family of Syads now settled at Kotla Saadat in the Multán tahsíl who, about the end of the seventeenth century emigrated to Multán from Kaniguram in the Mahsud country on account of a blood feud: the chief men of this family are at present Wazír Sháh and Lál Sháh. There are also several families in the neighbourhood of Kahror, who are called Jabli Syads, after some mountain (Jabl) in Arabia. The Syads are held in considerable reverence by the people, who salute them with respect and look up to them as pírs. They most of them own lands, but are seldom found actually handling the plough. Members of the sacred and semi-sacred tribes of this part of the Punjab generally have names ending in 'Sháh' (as 'Sher Sháh,' etc.); and though this practice is not uncommon among the Koreshis, Khaggas, Chishtís, etc., it is almost invariable among the Syads.

Closely allied to the Syads are the Koreshís, who numbered according to the census of 1921 some 9,000 souls. The Koreshís claim descent from the tribe to which the Prophet belonged, and the Koreshís of the district are confined mainly to the families of the Makhdúms of Baháwal Haqq in Multán, the guardians of the shrine at Makhdum Rashid, and their immediate connections. The Shekhs, who also claim Arab descent, are largely men of inferior status, and include a certain number of Hindu converts, who nearly always assume this appellation. Among the more prominent Shekh tribes are the Ansáris, to whom several respectable families in Multán belong. There are also certain tribes claiming to be Arabs, such as the Arbís, who used to hold several villages in the Multán tahsíl, but have now fallen into decay. Among the tribes claiming an Arab or semi-sacred status are the Háns, Khagga, Nekokára and Jhandír. The Háns are found mainly on the Montgomery border; the Nekokára and Jhandír, though found also in Mailsi, are chiefly conspicuous in the direction of Jhang; the Khaggas own land both in the Multán and Mailsi tahsíls, and in Pakka Háji Majíd, near Tulamba. All these tribes are looked on with a certain amount of respect. In the troublous days before Sáwan Mal, if any one was distressed he took refuge with a Khagga: and any marauder who entered a Khagga's house was miraculously struck blind.

1911	...	9,015
1921	...	7,891

Pathans.

The first settlement in the district of Patháns in any numbers took place during the reign of the Emperor Sháh Jahán, after the ineffectual efforts made by the Princes Aurangzeb and Dara Shekoh to recover Kandáhár from Persia (A. D. 1649—53). The Pathán adherents of the Empire then flocked in some numbers into India, and many of them were located by

1901	...	8,251
1911	...	10,106
1921	...	8,890

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Population.

Patháns.

royal grants in this and the neighbouring districts. The position of the refugees was subsequently much improved by the accession of one of their number, Záhid Khan, to the post of Náib-Názim of Multán. From this time for more than a century and a half Afghán influence was predominant throughout the Multán province, and the members of the tribe largely profited by its political predominance. But when Multán fell before Ranjit Singh in 1818, their position became much altered. Naturally Muzaffar Khan had found his most devoted adherents among his own tribe, and these, equally naturally, were objects of special dislike to the Sikh agents who took over charge of the province. During the first two years, accordingly, of Sikh rule many Patháns left the district, finding their claims lightly regarded by the new rulers. Under Sáwan Mal, however, their position again improved. He enlisted them in large numbers into his army, and many who had left their estates after the fall of the city were encouraged to return. During the revolt of Diwan Mulraj they sided for the most part with the British power, and after annexation great efforts were made by them to become reinstated in their former position. The Multáni Patháns, as might be expected from their history, belong mostly to clans of the Abdáli or Durrani stock, which, coming from the country round Kandáhár and Hirát, are little known in the northern frontier districts.

The Patháns of this district live very largely in Multán city or as fairly large landowners in the villages; they are seldom found following the plough. They alone of any Muhammadan tribe in the district show any taste for Government service, and a certain number are enlisted in Cureton's Multáni Horse, the old XVth Bengal Lancers. They are, as a rule, men of gentlemanly manners, even if in a lowly position in life, but many of them are reckless and extravagant, and they make, as a rule, poor managers of property. The people have a proverb: Pathán dá pút, kadáhin jinn kadáhin bhút (" A Pathán's son is sometimes a devil, sometimes a demon), that is to say, he is never anything but bad though some are worse than others. This saying is probably a reminiscense of the oppressions practised in the palmy days of Pathán supremacy: for the Pathán, as he now is, it seems a bit hard.

Besides the indigenous Patháns there are a certain number of immigrants, chiefly from the Ghazni direction who come every cold weather and wander about the district, either as builders of walls or as pedlars of fruit, cloth and indigo. They are looked on as excellent workmen, but are a bit turbulent in exacting their dues. They live on the proceeds of begging, and take away with them in the spring the whole of their earnings for the winter. They almost always leave their women behind them in " kirris " in the Derajat, and

this accounts for the small proportion of Pathán women returned in the census.

Patháns.

The Patháns in the district, even those of the ragged wall-building species, are commonly addressed by the people as 'Khán' 'Khán Sáhib.' Of the settled Pathán families very few have any knowledge of Pashto, and they maintain little or no connection with their fellow-tribesmen on or beyond the border, having in most cases intermarried freely with the native races of the district.

Biloechis and Daudputras.

1901	... 24,488
1911	29,594
1921	30,583

The Bilochis first obtained a footing in the district during the latter half of the fifteenth century, when the Dodais and afterwards the Rinds made incursions into the district, in some cases enlisting as mercenaries under the Langáhs, and, in others, settling down as agriculturists. They are now found for the most part in the Lodhrán tahsíl and its immediate neighbourhood; and though they own no very prominent men, they include several sturdy agricultural families of a good stamp in villages such as Wahi Jugguwála, Haveli Nasír Khan, Chauki Sobha Khan, etc. The Biloch villages in the east of Lodhrán are mostly called chaukís; the story being that the Bilochís were settled there as outposts in former days to protect the boundary of the neighbouring desert, which is still known as the Chit Dáin or Desert of Terror. The Bilochís of the district are chiefly Rinds and Korais. They have long been, for practical purposes, ordinary Jats, having forgotten their old language, disused their old costume and intermarried freely with the neighbouring population. They not uncommonly, however, still wear their hair long and among the Rinds the married women wear white clothes only.

The Daudputras, though claiming a separate origin, are commonly looked on as Bilochís. They are of the same family as the Nawáb of Baháwalpur, and those found in this district are mainly descendants of men who obtained a footing in the Sutlej tahsíls during the days of Baháwalpur supremacy. In appearance they resemble the Bilochis. They are mainly tenants and labourers, and own very little land.

Moghals.

1901	... 8,038
1911	.. 1,661
1921	2,250

Of the so-called Moghals of the district but few are real Moghals: the assumption of Moghal clan names, such as Chughatta, etc., being a very common practice among the lower castes. The census figures regarding this tribe are therefore specially untrustworthy. Considering the enormous number of Moghal invasions from which the district has suffered, there are remarkably few families in Multán which can show Moghal or Turkish descent. There is a tribe called Kaum, near Mitru, which is said to have come from Central Asia,

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Moghals.

and at Wahind Sarmani, near Kahror, there are Aibaks: these Aibaks, however, say they are not Turks but Joyas. Possibly some of the innumerable so-called Jat tribes of the district may represent fragments of the Moghal invasions; but after five or six centuries of free intermarriage, it would probably be difficult to find now many undoubted descendants of the Moghal invaders. Such few Moghals as there are among the peasantry look on themselves as merely a kind of Jats.

Aráíns.

1901	...	32,110
1911	...	37,636
1921	...	43,826

The Aráíns of the Central Punjab attribute their origin to Multán, and the Aráíns of Multán almost invariably say that they came from the Central Punjab or from Hindustán, so that our knowledge of the origin of this tribe is obscure. Possibly both statements are true. They are often found in this district in their usual position of cultivators and market gardeners, but as proprietors they hold two main clusters of villages round Jalla in Mailsí and round Kabírpur in Multán, and are also prominent at Jalla in Lodhrán and elsewhere. As proprietors they are looked upon as fully the equals in rank of the other tribes. Their leading men are called *mullán*. Of the Aráín as a tenant, the people say: 'Aráín tama táín,' which signifies that the Aráín will stay with you as long as you satisfy his greed by advances of money, etc. The Aráíns of Jalla in Lodhrán have a character for high-handedness, which is represented in the local proverb: 'Jalle de Aráín ápe chor ápe sain' (The Aráíns of Jalla are thieves and judges in one). The Aráíns are scarcely ever found in this district as sellers of vegetables or greengrocers, professions commonly adopted by them in the Punjab proper but monopolized here (except near Multán city) by Hindus.

Jats and Rájpúts.

		Jats.	*Rajputs.*
1901	..	140 315	91,516
1911	...	251,613	60.910
1921	...	313 355	51,836

The Jats and Rájpúts of the district may conveniently be considered together. The term Jat is to a certain extent recognized as the name of caste or race as it is in the Central Punjab, but it is also freely used to include all whose profession is agriculture or pasturage, and to distinguish indigenous tribes of this character from the immigrant Syads, Patháns, Koreshís and others of a similar social status. The word is also used as a common noun to signify a cultivator, so that it will be readily understood how the tribe 'Jat' does not include a very definite body of men, and how the number recorded as Jats at the various censuses is subject to considerable variations. The term is often found to include on the one side menial or other lowly castes which have taken to agriculture, and, on the other, clans which pretended to undoubted Rájpút origin. There are no indigenous clans in the district who call themselves in common parlance Jat or Rájpút: each clan is known by its own name, and its classification as a Jat or Rájpút clan is a matter left for the mirási or other

outsider to consider. The number of these petty clans is immense (368 such clans were returned in 1881 under the head of "Jat" alone), and attempts to classify them are almost hopeless, as by far the greater number of them are confined to one or two villages, and are quite unable to give any account of themselves or of their relations with any other clan. The chief of the Jat and Rájpút clans in the district are —

Siáls,	Núns,
Thahíms,	Drigs,
Traggars	Langáhs,
Wainses,	Joyas
Bosans,	Mitrus,
Khokhars,	Khichís,
Marrals,	Langriáls,

and an account of these clans is given below.

Among the less distinguished Jat and Rájpút tribes we find in Kabírwála the Sahus, Khaks, Pahors, Dahas and Pàndas; in Multán, Kheras, Athangals, Metlas, Buches, Mahotas, Chhajjras, Rans, Kálrus and Hammars; in Shujá-bád, Khákis, Jhakkars, Rids, Lángs, Ruks, Pannúhans, Shajras and Jais; in Lodhrán, Channars, Ghallus, Utherás, Kanjuns and Kuliárs; in Mailsi, Dhudhis, Sandhals, and Wasírs.

The Jat is the backbone of the agriculture in the district and his boorish habits, his clannishness, his insolence in prosperity, all come in for their share of notice in the sayings of the people: 'Jat ke jánen rah?' (What does a Jat know of roads? he cuts across country). Jat názuk te sirdá tarora. (However particular a Jat may become, he still ties a blanket on his head as a pagri). 'Jat bhukká kutta, te rajjiá súr. (If a Jat is empty, he is a dog; if full, a pig). 'Jat te phat, baddha change' (A Jat and a wound should be tied up). 'Jat pinne te kandh kolon bí ghinne' (If a Jat begs, he insists on getting something even from a brick wall). Jat Jatán de sáleh, kar lainde ghála mále' (All Jats are closely related to each other, and carry out deceitful practices to protect each other). And yet, after all, a Jat wife is the best and most economical: 'Ran Jatti te hor sab chattí' (A Jat wife for me: all the rest are a mere waste of money).

The *Siáls* with their various sub-divisions occupy nearly all the villages on both banks of the Rávi in the Kabírwála tahsíl. The sub-divisions best known in the district are the Sargána, Hiráj, Thiráj, Sanpál, Dáduaná, Duána, Kamlána, Pan-

1901	... 30,995
1911	... 26,393

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Jats and Rájpúts

juána, Sasrán, Daultána* and Mirálí. They all take their names from various descendants of the common ancestor, Seo or Siál, whose pedigree table is given in Appendix III of Sir Charles Roe's report of the second Regular Settlement. Siál is said to have been a son of Rai Shankar, a Panwár Rájpút. He migrated to the Punjab, and was converted to Islam by Bábá Farid of Pákpattan in the time of the Emperor Ala-ud-din Ghori, or about 1250 A. D. He married the daughter of Bahádur Khan, a local chief, and his sons established themselves in Chauntra, and then across the Chenáb in Jhang, which they ruled more or less independently down to the time of Ranjit Singh. Ahmad Khan, the then chief, was direct descendant and male representative of Siál; after repulsing one or two attacks, he was at length defeated by the Maharaja and his country annexed. He was, however, granted a jâgír, and his descendants still reside and hold land in Jhang. During the period of the Siál supremacy and the breakdown of the Moghal power large bands of this tribe appear to have passed down southwards and to have settled in their present habitat along the banks of the Rávi.

1901	...	4,540
1911	...	3,932

The Thahíms appear from the Ain-i-Akbari to have been a common tribe in the district in the days of Akbar. The bulk of the present Thahíms, however, are said to have immigrated from Chiniot at the time of the Siál upheaval in the eighteenth century; and there are still Thahíms in Chiniot and its neighbourhood. The Thahíms claim Arabic descent, and they say that their immediate ancestor, Sámbhal Sháh, came to Multán seven hundred years ago, killed the local chief, and reigned in his stead for forty years. The tribe is now found mainly on the Chenáb in the south-west of the Kabírwála tahsíl, where they have a bad name for crime. They are also found in other parts of the district especially in the tract between Lodhrán and Kahror. The chief Thahím family in the district is that of Pír Bakhsh, of Mamdál. Among the remarkable men whom the tribe has produced are Sadullah Khan, the Prime Minister of the Emperor Sháh Jahán and Shekh Jalál, one of the learned men of Agrá in the days of Humáyún. The tribe, therefore, was not always a purely agricultural one, and there may be something true in their claims to Arabic extraction. The Bani Tamím are a large tribe in Arabia, and the Bani Tamíms are a Koreshi clan to which the first Caliph belonged.

The Traggars hold a few villages on the Chenáb next the Thahíms. They say they are Bhatti Rájpúts, and take their name from their ancestral home at Traggar in Bikanír. They first immigrated to Jhang, but about one hundred and

* To be distinguished from the Joya Daulatánas of the Luddan tract in Mailsi.

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fifty years ago, on account of quarrels with the Siáls, they left that district and settled under their leaders, Hasta, Mulah and Salábat, on the banks of the Chenáb, where they hold a few villages both on the Multán and on the Muzaffargarh side of the river.

The Vains clan hold two villages on the extreme north of the Multán tahsíl, and their leading man is Kádir Bakhsh, zaildar. They are also found in the north of the Shujábád tahsíl. They say they are Hajua Rájpúts, and that their ancestor Vains came to Multán from Sakesar in the days of Firoz Sháh. The Bosans, hold the villages south of the Vains; their ancestor is said to have come from Haidarábád in Sindh as a disciple of Baháwal Haqq, and to have received from his master some of the land which the latter obtained from the ruler of Multán.

The Khokhars of the district are not a very important clan, except for the one family described further on in this chapter. They are sometimes looked on as a distinct tribe. with Awán or with Arab origin, and sometimes as a clan of the Jats or Rájpúts. The Khokhars themselves generally attribute their origin to one Kutb Sháh, who came from Ghazni to Sakesar with the conqueror Mahmud, and from whom the Awáns also are said to be descended. Writing on the census of 1891, Maulvi Mahomed Hussain notes as follows regarding another story of their origin:—'The author of the Jawáhir Farídi, a book written in 1016 by one of the descendants of Báwa Farid, gives the Khokhars an Arab origin, but he gives us no detail. I think this authority cannot be relied on, because the descendants of Báwa Faríd took their wives out of the Khokhar families of Pákpattan; and this fact might have induced them to give an Arab origin to the Khokhars.' The Khokhars, from whatever origin descended, were a considerable power in the tract between Jhelum and Multan at the time of the invasion of Tamerlane; but their history has been somewhat obscured owing to their being constantly confused in the written records with the Ghakkars. A full account of the various traditions relating to their origin will be found in Rose's Glossary of Tribes and Castes, Volume II, p. 539.

1901	...	11,6 6
1911	...	11.786
1921	...	6.826

In the north of Shujábád the predominant clan is that of the Núns, who are said to be a sub-division of the Bhatti Rájpúts, and to have migrated from some place called Thánewáhan, which is said to have been in the direction of Delhi. The date of the immigration appears uncertain, but they say that their ancestor Rájwaddan was converted by Makhdúm Jahánian of Uchh, or, as others say, by Syad Jalál. They first settled at Bhangála in Shujábád, and afterwards extended over the greater part of the north of the tahsíl,

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and their villages benefitted greatly by the opening of canals in the times of the Nawábs. They are now somewhat decaying, but still hold a good deal of land. The Núns are said to be connected with the Jais, Jhakkars and Uterás: Jai and Utera being represented as brothers of Nún, and Jhakkar as son of Jai. The Jhakkars, who live immediately north of the Núns in the Shujábád tahsíl retain, like them, the old title of Rána. Sir Edward Maclagan saw a manuscript genealogy in which Utherá, Kánjun and Kuliár (the names of three well-known tribes in this district) are represented as the brothers of Nún and the sons of Rájwaddan above mentioned.*

The Drigs who are found along the banks of the Chenáb, attribute their origin to 'Kech Makran', and like other tribes who came from the direction of Sindh they are known by the appellation of 'Jám.' They are thought to be Rájpúts from Sindh who were driven out from that country in the end of the fifteenth century by the oppression of the ruler of Thatta.

1901	...	2,927
1911		1,132

The Langáhs hold villages in various parts of the Shujábád tahsíl, but are in chief strength towards the south. The figures given for this tribe in the various censuses differ a good deal, possibly owing to their being confused with the Lángs, a smaller tribe of the same neighbourhood. The Langáhs, furnished a dynasty of rulers who were supreme in Multán for about eighty years, from 1445 to 1526 A. D. The Langáhs of that dynasty are said by Firishta to have come from Sibi, and he is quoted as ascribing to them an Afghan origin.† The people themselves, so far as they know about their original habitat, locate it at Delhi, and some persons throw doubt on the identity of the present Langáhs and those of the old reigning dynasty; but as Firishta gives Rappri (a small village on the Chenáb in the south of the Shujábád tahsíl) as the original home in this district of the Langáhs whom he mentions, and as the Langáhs now resident in the district own large areas of land, it seems only reasonable to suppose that the Langáhs, now extent and those of Fírishta are one and

* In the following rhyme the Channars also are added:—

Jhakkar Channar Kánjun Nún te Uterá,

Hin Ráne Shaitán de panje bújh bhará.

All five clans assume the title of Rána and all five would seem to have given cause of offence to the maker of the couplet.

† The Lucknow edition of Fírishta describes Rai Sahra as 'Sardár-i-jumá'at-i-Afghán Langáh'; but there seems to be some doubt about this. The Langáhs ordinarily have names ending in Khán, like the Patháns of this part of the Punjab.

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the same race.* In former times the Langáhs owned several villages which are now in other hands. It is not unlikely that the Langáhs were Rájpúts from Sindh, and some say that they were Panwárs, and that they are allied to the Bhuttas, Kharrals, Harrals and Laks. It is also stated by Mírásís that Langáh, Bhutta, Dahar, Shajrá and Naich (all now represented by tribes in this district) were five sons of one Mahlí, and this may reflect some original connection between those various clans.† Some of them claim Arabic descent according to the fashion prevalent in this part of the Punjab (where Rájpút descent is thought of little account), and say that Shujaat Khan, who founded the village of Shujaatpur, came from Arabia six hundred years ago. The chief Langáh clans are Sanpál, Raizáda, Jore, Jabuje and Jahankhánia. There are also some families of Langáhs at Rath Mammar in the Mailsi bár: these men are fakírs and do medicine work, and are said to have no connection with the other Langáhs.

The Joyas hold most of the land along the Sutlej in the Mailsi tahsíl. Cunningham would identify them with the Yaudhias, who are thought to have been in the same tract of country before the Christian era. The Joyas themselves say that they are Rájpúts from Bikanír, and Mr. Morris, the Settlement Officer of 1858, states that they came from Sindh. They are said to have been converted by Rukn-i-Alam in the fourteenth century, but their own account places their conversion earlier. They say that eight hundred years ago Rai Jalál-ud-dín and Rai Kamál-ud-dín, two brothers, and Fatteh Khan were sent by the Delhi Emperor against Khar, a Bhatti Chief, then ruling in Kahror, and that after defeating Khar they held his land in farm from the Delhi sovereign. There is reason to believe that this Khar or Kahr lived not earlier than the fourteenth century, and the first immigration of the Joyas probably dates from then. Jalál-ud-dín remained at Kahror, while Fatteh Khan settled at Fattehpur. In the time of Akbar, the Joyas were the predominant tribe of the Mailsi and Lodhrán tahsíls. Then, or soon after, probably, the four brothers—Jagan, Mangan, Luddan and Lál—colonized the country round Luddan; and, as time went on

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* The following rhyme, recited by a mírásí of Rukhanhatti, can scarcely refer to any one but Hussain Khan Langáh:—

Khán Husain takht baithá, kabr that chauchakk,
Hikk dháwaní Multán gioso nál súm sarakk.
Takár Tátár dharm mánge: líkkadi nakk,
Khán Husain pái vaddi bhág bakhatt.

'Khan Husain sat on the throne and wide was his fame; he went with one dash to Multán in great wrath; he took an oath from the Turks (?) and Tártárs: they drew a line in the dust with their noses: Khán Husain obtained great rank and fortune.'

† The verse runs:—
Saglí jihándi dádí, Sodí jihán dí ma.
Mahlí jái panj putr—Dahr, Bhutta, Langáh, Naich, Shajrá.

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fresh bands came over the Sutlej. In the latter days of the Empire the Joyas were a turbulent element in the population, but were kept somewhat in order by the Daudputras. They contain a vast number of sub-clans, of which at present the Daulatanas, the Salderas and the Lakhweras are the most prominent. Rose has a good account of the tribe in his Glossary, Volume II, page 410.

The Khichis are a branch of the Chauháns and are said to be descended from one Khichi Khan, who was ruler in Ajmir, and afterwards obtained possession of Delhi, from which he was driven out by the Muhammadans. His descendants, Sísan and Vadan, migrated to Multán in the time of the Moghal sovereigns: Sísan founded Faddah and Vadan Shergarh. They fought with the Joyas, then paramount in this direction, and the names of Rai Lúna Khichi, of Sakhi Dalel and of Ali Khan are still remembered among them. There is a tale, too, to the effect that the Bilochís of Khaí having in Moghal times become rebellious, the Khichís were sent against them under two brothers, Hussain Khan and Háji Fatteh; but there is no indication of the date of this event. The Khichís fought also against the Sikhs under Jhanda Singh and Ganda Singh, and were discomfited. The tribe still holds several villages round Mailsi.

1901	3,174
1911	[illegible],886

The Langriáls, who inhabit the whole of the eastern bár country, are a comparatively new tribe in the district. The tribe is found in Ráwalpindi and Siálkot also, where they claim a Solar Rájpút descent. It is sometimes stated that the Multán Langríáls claim descent from a Brahman of Bikanír, but an inspection of their *kursi náma* shows that it is only their mírásí who claims this descent: the Langriáls themselves, like many other converted tribes, say they are from Arabia and are Koreshís; and that they held power for some time in Tatta in Sindh under one Ghiás-ud-din, who from the extent of his public kitchen (langar), obtained the clan name of Langriál. Ghiás-ud-din is said to have been a contemporary of Shaháb-ud-din Ghori, and to have gone with him to Delhi; after which the tribe is found wandering *viâ* Káshmir to Sháhpur, and then driven from Sháhpur to Gariála in Jhang. From this they went to the Kamália iláka in Montgomery, from which they removed in the time of Shuja Khan to their present habitat in the country formerly held by the Háns tribe round Kamánd. Their two chiefs were Wága and Rahmán. Máchhia, the descendant of Wága, lived at Kamánd and Bákir, the descendant of Rahmàn, at Sharaf. Both held jágírs in return for services in 1857 against the Káthias and the mutinous Multán regiments. The Langriáls were by nature nomads, and by habit cattle-lifters; but they are by degrees settling down to more stable and reputable means of living. Some of them have become

very wealthy men since the Lower Bari Doab Canal came to their lands and others will be much benefited by the Sutlej Valley Project.

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The inferior tribes.

Of the more lowly castes which are sometimes found engaged in agricultural pursuits, the Jhabels and Kehals are fishing tribes who live by the bank of the river. They both say they came from Sindh, and the Kehals are said to be given to polygamy on a large scale. The Labánas in this district are vagrants, who make ropes and mats, and who are usually spoken of (with some contempt) as 'Sikhs,' without further designation; being as a rule Monâ Sikhs and not Muhammadans. The Mahtams, who are found in large numbers, are both Mussalman and Hindu, the former being mainly cultivators (and good ones); the latter clearers of jungle, hunters of pig, and so forth. They have a dark complexion, say they came from Sindh, and claim a Rájpút origin. Some of the Mahtams near Multán city are said to be really Jats, who were called Mahtams from having settled on the homes and lands of an old Mahtam colony. The Mahtams are looked down upon, and the local proverb says: 'Do jhugge Mahtamán de te nán Khairpur' (Two Mahtam huts and the village called Khairpur). A village in Kabírwála was known for many generations by the name of Mahtamán; but when the Sidhnai canal was extended to it, and it was colonized by Dabs from Jhang, the name of the village was by special request altered to Khan Bahádurgarh. The Ods are a wandering caste, mostly Hindus, living by earthwork and carrying their grass huts and other belongings with them on donkeys from place to place. Occasionally (as in Dera Buddhu Malik near Multán) they are found in settled houses.

The menial castes.

The workers in leather are in this district entirely Mussalmans and are known as Mochís, not as Chamárs. The scavengers also are mainly Mussalmans and are spoken of as Kotánas, Kurtánas or Mussallís. In the same way, the washermen are known as Charhoas and the weavers as Paolis, and both these castes are also almost entirely Mussalman. The remaining menial castes are much as the Central Punjab. Oil-seeds not being plentifully grown, Telís are fewer than in the centre and east of the province; but, as might be expected, Malláhs and Kassábs are much more common. Generally speaking, the distinction between the menial and agricultural castes is far less marked in this part of the province than in the centre and in the east. Owing to the lack of village sites, the menials are very often found as tenants or farm-servants, and are in such circumstances spoken of and treated as ordinary Jats. With certain restrictions, too, the intermarriage of menials with the agricultural tribes is comparatively common. The Kotánas are distinguished from the other menial castes by their catholicity in the matter of food; they eat anything clean or unclean: (always excepting snakes, rats,

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The menial castes.

spiders, jackals and pigs); but in other respects are outwardly Muhammadans, going to the mosques, being married by nikáh and burying their dead. They very commonly call themselves Khokhars, just as the Náís commonly call themselves Bhattis. The sweeper in bad years is a humble individual, but when his wants are satisfied there is no holding him! 'Palli vichh dáne kuddan Kutáne' ('Grain in bin; the Kutána leaps in his pride'). He is indispensable for winnowing and the winnowing-fan is, as it were, the emblem of his race: 'Chuhre kun chhaj di vadái' (The winnowing-fan is the sweeper's boast). He also makes ropes, especially for wells.

The tribes as land-owners.

Of the whole proprietary area about 25 per cent. is now held by Hindus, mainly Aroras, and the rest mostly by Muhammadans, the majority of whom are Játs, to whom, however, the Syads and Pathans bear a good proportion. The holdings of the Aroras and Syads are scattered all over the district; so, too, are the Patháns and Bilochís, who, however, are most numerous in Mailsi and Lodhrán, and very few in Kabírwala. The localities of the Muhammadan Játs are very distinctly marked. The banks of the Rávi are held by the Síals, including their sub-divisions of Hirájs, Sarganás, Daduánas, Panjuánas, etc. Along the Chenáb to the borders of the Multán tahsíl the villages belong mainly to Thahíms and Traggars. In Multán the predominance of any one tribe of Jats is not so clearly marked; but in Shujábád, the Khokhars, Núns, Khákhís, Lángs, Kachálas and Langáhs are found in more or less solid groups. In Lodhrán again the groups are not so very well marked; but in Mailsi the Joyas, with their sub-divisions, hold almost all the Sutlej lands. Behind these come extensive groups of Khichís, Aráíns, Syads, Pathans and Mitrus, whilst the *bár*, is occupied mainly by Langriáls.

History of tribal immigrations.

If the history of the various tribes is investigated, it will be found that there is scarcely a single important tribe now found in the district which has not immigrated within the last five or six hundred years. The whole population for many centuries has been in a state of constant flux, and it is of very little use trying to discover who the original inhabitants or the inhabitants in pre-Muhammadan times can have been. In Kabírwála the Kháks, Pándas, Pahors and Sahús have locally the reputation of being the four most ancient tribes in the tahsíl; but there are traditions that the Kháks came from Jammu in the seventeenth century, and we find the Sahús still immigrating from Márwár in Akbar's time and the Pahors still immigrating from Bikanír in the time of Jahángír. The earliest landmark in the immigrations of the district is the arrival of the Gardezi Syads in the twelfth century, when they received large grants along the old Rávi in the Kabírwála and Multán tahsíls. In the thirteenth century came the Koreshís, and their proselytizing movements throw some further light on the tribal arrangements of the day.

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The Dhudhís, for instance, were at that time established in the extreme east of the Mailsi tahsil; and the Aráíns of the Multán tahsíl appear to have begun immigrating about this time from Lahore. The Kheras, north of Multán, would seem to have arrived about this time from the direction of the Lakhi jungle. In Tamerlane's time we find the Khokhars in considerable power in the north of Kabírwála, but their settlement in their present habitat dates from the time of Humáyún. Shortly after this we find the Langáhs, who had arrived from Sivi, in sufficient power to start a local dynasty, and during the time of Langáh supremacy began the incursions of the Bilochís from the south.

When the Ain-i-Akbari was written the Sahús held the country round Tulamba, and Sandas already occupied the present mouth of the Rávi near Khatpur Sanda. Over a good deal of the Multán tahsíl, and in other parts of the district also Thahíms were then in force; but this tribe is now mainly confined to a group of villages on the Chenáb north of Multán, and the colonization of those villages probably dates from a later period than that of Akbar. The country immediately south of Multán was in the hands of the Marrals. The Ghallus and Chaunars were in much the same area as they now occupy in the south-west corner of the district; and the Joyas were in considerable force all along the Sutlej. The Utherás, too, were settled round Dunyapur, and the Khichís were in possession of their present haunts north of Mailsi.

According to tradition, it is to Akbar's time that we must ascribe the arrival of Tángras and Dheds to the neighbourhood of Sirdárpur, and of the Drigs from Kech Makrán to Amanullapur and Bet Kech, and of the Lángs to the banks of the old Biás in the centre of the Shujábád tahsíl. About this time, too, apparently the Núns settled down in the north of Shujábád, and in the time of Jehángír the Khákís from Bhatner settled between the Núns and the Chenáb river. In Moghal times, also came the Khádals and Athangals from Jammu to the north of the Multán tahsíl, the Jánglas of Wán Chatta from Jhang, the Ráns of Ran Labidarya from Delhi, the Vainses from Sakesar, the Mahotas of Ináyatpur from Umarkot, the Ganwens of central Shujábád from Delhi, the Kánjuns from Delhi, the Panrúhans of southern Shujábád from the south, the Mitrús from Bikanír and the Arains of Lodhrán and Mailsi from Lahore. In the same period came the Arbis,—it is said from Arabia,—who were treated with consideration and given several villages round Multán, on which they have now to a large extent lost their hold. But the chief feature of this period is the large colonization scheme carried out by Shahzáda Murád Bakhsh, who was governor of Multán in the time of Shah Jahán. It appears that for some reason or other—a change in the course of a river or the

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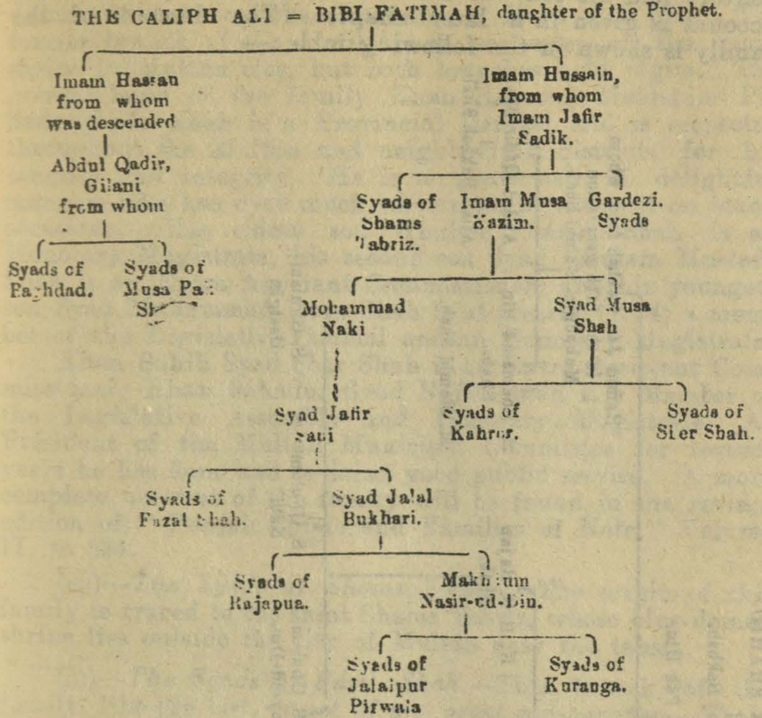
extirpation of some rebellious tribe—a large tract between the old Rávi and the Chenáb north of Multán was then available for settlement, and under the supervision of the State a number of foreign tribes were introduced into this tract: the Kálrú employees of Shah Jahán's army were rewarded with the land where Nawábpur and other Kálrú villages now stand: Mahe pilgrims from Jammu were given the site of Sharifpur, Saleh Mahe and Bahádurpur; Metlás from the north country settled at Basti Raza Khán; Sandílás from Delhi acquired Binda Sandíla; Buches got Buch Mubárik, and Suras from Delhi founded Alamdi Sura and Tindni.

In the reign of Aurangzeb arrived the Pathán refugees from Kandáhár, who were afterwards so largely to affect the fortunes of the district: and with the break up of the empire in the early part of the eighteenth century still greater changes commenced. The upheaval of the Siáls in Jhang drove a body of Thahíms from Chiniot into the west of the Kabírwála tahsíl, and an influential family of Syads from the same place to the tract north of the Rávi. These were followed later by the Siáls themselves, who established themselves firmly along the Sidhnai reach. About the middle of the contrary the Daúdputras crossed the Sutlej and occupied the Mailsi and Lodhrán tahsíls: and with the drying up of the Biás and the starting of the new canal systems, a good deal of local shifting took place among the tribes of the district, more especially among the Khichís and other tribes formerly dependent on the Bías for their livelihood. The wars of the latter part of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries gave a further impetus to change, and amid the devastation which overtook the district (and more particularly that part of it between Multán and Tulamba, which was so constantly crossed by the Pathán and Sikh armies), tribes were constantly leaving the desolated areas for new homes in safer tracts: and at the close of this period occurred the last great tribal immigration—that of the Langriáls from Kamália to the eastern bár of Mailsi.

After the advent of the Sikh power there was no marked immigration from outside: but the colonization of the Diwánwáh and the constant grants of property to Hindu capitalists gave rise to a great deal of local shifting. Under the British rule the chief changes in the local population have been due to the starting of the Diwánwáh and Hájíwáh Canals and the colonization of the areas irrigated by the Sidhnai and Lower Bari Doab Canals. Khánewál tahsíl is inhabited mainly by colonists, and in the Kabírwála tahsíl settlers from the Central Punjab form an important part of the population.

Considerations of space will not allow more than a brief description of the more prominent families of the district among whom the Syads are numerous. The traditional

genealogical connection of the chief Syad families of the district is shown in the following table:—



The above table includes ten separate families, some of whom possess considerable wealth, while others have little income beyond the precarious offerings of their disciples. In the following account they are taken in their genealogical order:—

(i) *The Baghdád Syads.*—The immediate ancestor of this branch was Shah Habib, who is said to have immigrated from Baghdád some three hundred years ago, and to have founded the village of Baghdád at the commencement of the Sidhnái reach in Kabírwala, where his shrine is still extant and forms the centre of a considerable fair in the month of August. His descendants once possessed considerable jágirs, but these were resumed in the Nawab's time and they now hold only a small grant in their own village, outside of which they are little known.

(ii) *The Syads of Musa Pak Shahid.*—This family, like the one above described, is known as Hasan Husaini or Gilání. The latter name is derived from Gilán, the province in Persia, from which their ancestor Abdul Qádir, otherwise known as Pirán Pir, sprung. Sheikh Jahán Bakhsh *alias* Sheikh Muhammad Ghaus, tenth in descent from Abdul Qádir,

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migrated from Baghdád to Uch in the middle of the 15th century and his son was the Musá Pák Shahid of whom an account is given in a later chapter. The descent of the family is shown in the following table:—

- MUSA PAK SHAHID.
  - Hamid Ganj Bakhsh.
    - Syad Musá Pák Din.
      - Sheikh Abdul Qádir, From whom in the 9th generation
        - K. B. Makhdum Pir Sadr-ud-Din Shah.
          - S. Ghulam Yasin Shah.
          - S. Ghulam Mustafa Shah
            - S. Walayat Hussain, Shah.
            - S. Shaukat Hussain.
            - S. Abdul Hasan.
            - S. Rahmát Hussain.
          - S. Muhammad Mukhtar Hussain (died childless).
          - S. Muhammad Razá Sháh.
        - K. S. S. Sher Shah.
          - S. Ghulám Mahbúb Shah.
        - K. B. S. Rajan Shah.
          - S. Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din.
          - S. Ghulam Nabi.
          - S. Ghulam Dastgir.
      - Hamid Ján Bakhsh from whom in the fifth generation Makhdum Hamid Shah.
        - M. Shams-ud-Din Shah.
          - M. Hamid Shah.
        - Abdul Qádir Shah.
          - Allah Bakhsh Shah.

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There is considerable dispute between the two branches of the family as to whether Sheikh Abdul Qádir or Hamid Jahán Bakhsh was the elder son of Musá Pák Dín. The former branch of the family is in possession of the main shrine in Multán city, but both branches hold jágirs. The present head of the family Khan Bahadur Makhdum Pir Sadr-ud-dín Shah is a Provincial Darbári and is respected throughout the Multán and neighbouring districts for his sanctity and integrity. He is a gentleman of delightful manners who has done much service to Government on many occasions. His eldest son Ghulam Yásin Shah is an Honorary Magistrate, his second son Syad Ghulam Mustafa Shah is an Extra Assistant Commissioner; and his youngest son Syad Muhammad Raza Shah is at present (1924) a member of the Legislative Council and an Honorary Magistrate.

Khan Sahib Syad Sher Shah is an Extra Assistant Commissioner; Khan Bahadur Syad Rajan Shah is a Member of the Legislative Assembly and Honorary Magistrate. As President of the Multán Municipal Committee for several years he has done and is doing good public service. A more complete account of the family will be found in the revised edition of "Punjab Chiefs and Families of Note." Volume II, p. 324.

The Syad families.

(iii)—The Syads of Shams Tabriz.—The origin of this family is traced to the saint Shams Tabriz, whose blue-domed shrine lies outside the city of Multán near the tahsíl.

(iv)—The Syads of Fázil Shah.—This branch of the family, like the last, is not of any great consequence. Their immediate ancestor, Hisám-ud-dín, came from Bokhára to Uch, where he is buried. His son Násir-ud-dín, immigrated to Nawábpur in the Multán tahsíl, and the family lived there for some time: in fact, some of his descendants still live there and in the villages near. His great-grandsons, Fázil Shah and Dost Muhammad, came from Nawábpura to the Kabírwála tahsíl, where they founded the villages of Fázil Shah and Muhammad Shah. Fázil Shah became a fakír and a disciple of the Syad of Kot Adu in Muzaffargarh, but his shrine is in his own village. His disciples are numerous, but the family hold no jágirs.

(v)—The Syads of Rájápur.—These, like the Syads of Jalálpur and Kuranga, trace their descent to Syad Jalál Bukhári, who is said to have come from Bukhára to Uch in A.D. 1235 and to have died in A.D. 1283. Mírán Syad Ghulám Ali, a descendant of his eldest son, migrated to Rájápur near Lodhrán, where his descendants have lived in obscurity ever since.

(vi)—The Syads of Jalálpur Pírwála.—These are descended, like the last, from Syad Jalál Bukhári, but their immediate ancestor was Syad Sultán Ahmad Kattál, of whom an

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The Syad families.

account is given in the description of the town of Jalálpur. He left three sons, Syad Ibn-ud-din, Sheikh Alam Pír and Diwán Shah Ismail. The eldest settled at Alipur, near Jalálpur, and his descendant, Abdul Hádi Shah, died as lately as 1900 A.D. The other two brothers remained in Jalálpur, and the elder called the younger his Diwán. The younger branch has become extinct in the male line, but the daughter of the last Díwán married the representative of the elder branch. Their son was Sheikh Muhammad Ghaus, who died in 1898, and who called himself Díwán Muhammad Ghaus to commemorate the union of the two branches of the family. His son Díwán Sultán Ahmad married into the family of Díwán Abdul Hádí, so that he practically represented all the three sons of the original Sultán Ahmad Kattál. The members of the family are the hereditary guardians of the Jalálpur shrine, and assume in alternate generations the name of Muhammad Ghaus and Sultán Ahmad. They are held in considerable respect in the neighbourhood on account of their saintly descent, and have a good deal of influence in Muzaffargarh and Baháwalpur, as well as in this district. Díwán Muhammad Ghaus, the present head of the family, holds no jagírs in this district, but is a Provincial Darbári and Zaildar.

SULTAN AHMAD KATTAL

- Alam Pir, from whom in the 7th generation Díwán Muhammad Ghaus died 1898; married. dr. of Syad Hassan Bakhsh
  - Díwán Sultán Ahmad.
    - Díwán Muhammad Ghaus.
    - S. Ghulam Abbás.
- Ilm-ud-din, from whom in the 6th generation Syad Hassan Bakhsh
  - Díwán Abdul Hadi Shah died 1900 without male issue.

(*vii*)—*The Syads of Kuranga.*—The family are descended from Syad Ismail, who immigrated from Uch to Chiniot. His descendants subsequently entered the country immediately north of the Rávi, and, after halting for some time at Pír Mahal, settled at Katálpur and Kuranga in the north-west corner of the district. Mehr Shah, a man of great influence, owned considerable tracts of land in the north of the tahsíl, and was succeeded by his son Pír Ghulám Rasúl Sháh who died a few years ago, leaving four sons, two of whom are Zaildars. The family has large landed estates and is much respected in the north of the district.

(*viii*)—*The Syads of Kahror.*—This family is descended from a branch of the Syads who lived for a long time at Mashhad. It is said that a dispute arose between two brothers, Háji Fakír-ud-dín and Syad Muhammad Shah, regarding the

The Syad families.

possession of certain relics of the Prophet, which were then carefully preserved in a chest, and it was agreed that whoever could open the chest should take them. Háji Fakír-ud-dín succeeded in doing so, and from this his descendants have taken the name of Kufális (sc. Kuflálás). Fearing the enmity of his brother, he left Mashhad and came to Multán, where he is buried near the Bohar Gate. Five generations after this, his descendant, Syad Muhammad Zinda Pír, accompanied the great Rukn-i-Alam on an 'itineration' to Kahror, where they converted the Joyas. The descendants of Zinda Pír have a certain amount of landed property in the neighbourhood of Kahror.

(*ix*)—*The Syads of Sher Sháh.*—This family, like the last, had its origin in Mashhad, from which its immediate ancestor, Sháh Ali Muhammad, migrated in 1533 A.D. to Uch, where he enrolled himself as a disciple of Makhdúm Muhammad Ghaus, father of Músa Pák Shahíd. He afterwards moved on to the present village of Sher Sháh, then called Ratanwáhan and held by the Hammar Jats. His shrine is at Sher Sháh, the residence of the present Makhdúm. It is well endowed with jágírs, and has a large annual fair in its honour in the month of Chet. The family has been divided by dissensions and the estates have been under the court of wards for many years. The present members are shown below:—

MAKHDUM SHAH ALI MUHAMMAD

(By elder wife)
Syad Mubárik Sháb, died about 1903.

(By younger wife)
Syad Pir Shah, died 1918
S. Ghulam Akbar Shah.

Syad Amír Shah born about 1881
S. Ghulam Qasim Shah.

(*x*)—*The Gardezi Syads.*—The Gardezi Syads were once the most wealthy and influential in the district, and owned nearly the whole of the part of the Kabírwála tahsíl through which the Lahore road now passes. The comparative ruin of that part of the country, owing to the change in the course of the Rávi, has led to their decay, but they still possess a very considerable influence and position. They are also known as Hussainís, from their descent from Imam Husain and their attachment to the Shiah faith. The family formerly lived at Baghdád, and they were then known as 'Baghdádi.' Their immediate ancestor was Syad Muhammad Dibal, great-great-grandson of Imám Husain. It was his son Syad Muhammad Ali who migrated from their original home at Medina to Baghdád. His great-grandson Abdullah removed from Baghdád to Gardez, and his great-grandson again Sheikh

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The Syad families.

Muhammad Yusaf, who was born at Gardez in A. H. 450 (A. D. 1058), made a further move to Multán in A. H. 481 (A. D. 1088). He immediately acquired a great reputation for sanctity and miracles, and received large grants of land. He died in A.H. 531 (1137 A.D.). Sheikh Muhammad Yusaf the Second, eighth in descent from his namesake, died without male issue, and his daughter married Makhdúm Syad Muziz-ud-dín, a descendant of Zaid Shahíd, another grandson of the Imám Husain. Hence the family are sometimes called Zaidis. Most of the Gardezi jágírs were resumed by the Sikhs, but large estates are still held by various branches of the family. The chief of these branches are the following:—(*a*) In Multán the family of Makhdúm Sheikh Rájú, the head of the family, who is an Honorary Magistrate, and much respected in the city for his uprightness and generosity. Unfortunately he is much embarrassed by debt. His brother, Amír Haidar Sháh, lives a good deal in Amírpur in the Kabírwála tahsíl, where he is held in considerable esteem: he is a careful and intelligent agriculturist. (*b*) In Korai Biloch, in the Kabírwála tahsíl, there is a group, of whom the most important member is K. B. Hassan Bakhsh. He resides in Multán where he is an Honorary Magistrate, and has been Vice-President of the Municipal Committee: he is a Khan Bahádur and has a seat in the Divisional Darbár. He is a gentleman of education, literary tastes and good manners, and has travelled a good deal in Persia and elsewhere. He is a charming conversationalist, a loyalist of the old school and universally respected. (*c*) In Salár Wahán Kohna in Kabírwála there is a branch of the Gardezis headed by the present Zaildár S. Baqir Sháh. (*d*) in Multán there is another family, at one time represented by Hámid Sháh, a portentous spendthrift, who in the course of his life absolutely ruined a magnificent series of estates, most of which fell into the hands of Rai Mela Ram, contractor, of Lahore. (*e*) At Adamwáhan there is another branch, in somewhat reduced circumstances. (*f*) There is also a small branch at Murádpur, between Kahror and Mailsi. Most of the Gardezi families are Shiahs and they are all thoroughly loyal.

Koreshi families.

There are two Koreshi families of repute in the district, that of the Makhdúm of the Baháwal Haqq shrine in Multán and that of Ghauspur in Kabírwála. They are both descended from the saint Bahawal Haqq, of whom an account is given in Chapter IV. In the sixth generation from the saint the family split into two branches: from the elder of these branches (which was founded by Sheikh Yusaf, who was ruler of Multán in A. D. 1453-55), sprang the original race of Makhdúms, and also (from a subsequent division) the Koreshís of Baghdád. From the younger of the branches sprang the present Makhdúms, who succeeded to the gaddi by

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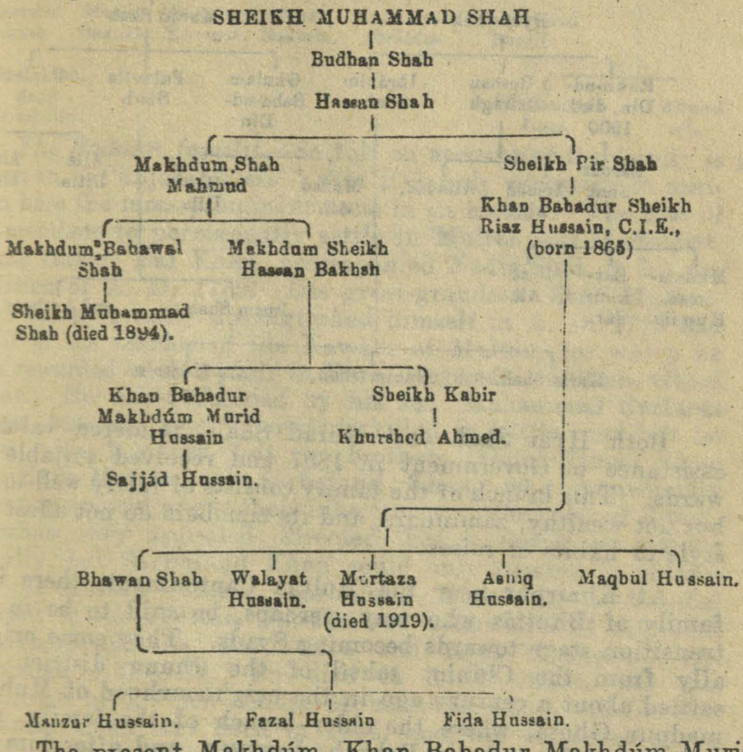
Population.

Koreshi families.

marriage on the failure of heirs in the original line in the first part of the nineteenth century. A full history of the family is given in Massy's "Punjab Chiefs, volume II, page 303."

The Koreshis like the Gardezis have always been conspicuous for their loyal support of Government on all occasions.

The following table shows the relationships in the family of the present Makhdúms:—



The present Makhdúm, Khan Bahadur Makhdúm Murid Hussain, has precedence of all other unofficial Viceregal Darbaris in the district and is thus the premier peer of Multán. He possesses land in various parts of the districts, especially at Hitharan on the Sidhnái canal, and he has also a grant on the Chenáb canal. He is Senior Vice-President of the Multán Municipal Committee and an Honorary Magistrate and is widely respected in the city by all communities. As guardian of the shrine of the saint Bahawal Haqq he is venerated by Muhammadans of the south-west of the Punjab and of Sind. Khan Bahadur Sheikh Riaz Hussain, C.I.E., is an Honorary Extra Assistant Commissioner who has done good service on the Frontier and in Multán for many years. He is Senior Vice-Chairman of the District Board and has considerable influence in the district. His second son Khan Sahib Waláyat

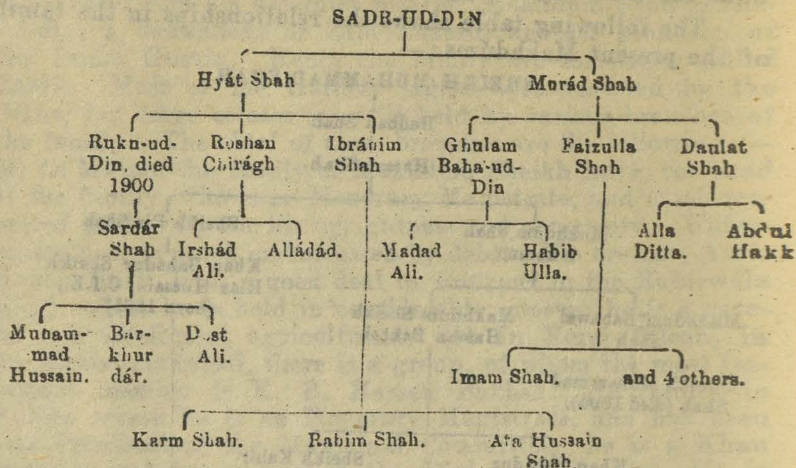
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Koreshi families.

Hussain is an Extra Assistant Commissioner and another son Ashiq Hussain has been accepted as an Extra Assistant Commissioner candidate. Maqbúl Hussain, his youngest son, has recently been given a King's Commission.

The Ghauspur branch of the family is shown in the following table:—



Both Hyát Shah and Murád Shah rendered valuable assistance to Government in 1857 and received suitable rewards. This branch of the family consists of fairly well-to-do, but not wealthy, zamindars, and its members do not affect the style or habits of raises.

The Bhuttas.

At Khairpur near the Multán Cantonment, there is a family of Bhuttás who may, perhaps, be said to be in the transition stage towards becoming Syads. They came originally from the Chiniot tahsíl of the Jhang district and settled about a century ago in the neighbourhood of Muhammadpur Ghota, where the elder branch of the family now mainly resides. Amir Bakhsh, however, and after him his son Murad Bakhsh, obtained other lands by sale and by grant from Government, and gradually accummulated a fine property in the village of Khairpur. Murád Bakhsh did good service in 1849 and 1857, and was generously rewarded. He was a pushing man, and dropped the appellation of Bhuttá, substituting that of Pírzáda. He left a family of four sons, two (Ghulám Rasúl and Muhammad Makbúl) by one wife, and two (Karim Bakhsh and Amir Bakhsh) by another. They are all intelligent and masterful men and good thrifty zamindars, but the two sets of brothers have not always got on well with each other. Ghulam Rasúl is a Zaildár at Murabba in Mailsi, where he has acquired a fair property, and he is a Divisional Darbari; while Muhammad Makbúl is a Zaildár in Multán and entitled to a chair.

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The Bhuttas.

The relationships are shown as follows:—

- AMIR BAKHSH
  - Chirágh Bakhsh.
    - Ghulam Sarwar.
      - Muhammad Bakhsh.
        - Allah Bakhsh.
          - Nasir-ud-Din.
      - Maula Bakhsh.
      - Ghulám Murtaza.
      - Ahmad Baksh.
      - Muhammad Ibráhím.
      - Muhammad Ismail.
  - Murád Bakhsh.
    - Ghulám Rasúl.
    - Muhammad Makbúl.
    - Karím Bakhsh.
    - Amir Bakhsh.
      - Muhammad Umr.
      - Ahmed Ali.

The Pathán families.

The Badozai family.—So full an account of the family is given in "Punjab Chiefs" that it is only necessary to mention here the most prominent facts in its history. The first of its members to permanently settle in Multán was Muhabbat, whose father, Bai Khan, accompanied Nádir Sháh in his expedition of A. D. 1738. His great-grandson Sháh Muhammad Khan greatly distinguished himself in A. D. 1772 and 1779 in the service of the Nawábs of Multán, for which he was rewarded with a jágír in Dera Dínpanáh and Dera Gházi Khan. He was succeeded by his son Muhammad Sarfaráz Khan who was soon afterwards killed in battle, and left no issue. He, however, left two brothers, Abdul Samad Khan and Háfiz Muhammad Sarbuland Khan, who immediately began to quarrel about their inheritance. The ruler of Kabul, to whom they appealed, directed that it should be divided equally, but Sarbuland Khan could only succeed in obtaining the Multán estates. Sarbuland Khan was a faithful servant to the Multán Nawábs and afterwards of the Sikh Governor, and he was active and loyal throughout the campaign of 1848-49. He died in A. D. 1853, and was succeeded by his son Sadik Muhammad Khan. Sadik Muhammad Khan was born in 1814, and was employed at an early age in important duties by Diwán Sáwan Mal. On the breaking out of Mulraj's rebellion, he distinguished himself by refusing the oath of allegiance to him, and he rendered signal service throughout the campaign, at the close of which he retired on a pension of Rs. 2,000 a year, besides receiving other substantial marks of Government's favour. He again came forward in A. D. 1857, and after the close of disturbances re-entered for a time Government service, acting as tahsíldár in the different tahsíls of the Multán district. After he retired, his pension was exchanged for a jágír, the most valuable portion of which was the village of Lutfábád, about eight miles from Multán. Sádik Muhammad Khan died in February 1883, and one-half of his jágír was continued for life to his second son Ashik Muhammad Khan as being the most

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—
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The Pathán families.

worthy representative of the family. On his death in 1908, the jágír terminated and his property descended to his only surviving son Abdul Qádir Khan who in popular parlance usually receives the courtesy title of Nawáb. He is a gentleman of good education and literary tastes who has travelled in Egypt, Turkey and Arabia. He is a Provincial Darbári and Honorary Magistrate, and so far as acreage goes he is one of the largest owners of land in the district.

The other branches of the family are not in good circumstances.

The genealogical table is given below:—

SADIK MUHAMMAD KHAN, died 1833.

- Muhammad Sherdil Khan, born 1829.
  - Khuda Bakhsh, born 1873.
  - Abdur Rahman.
- Ashik Muhammad Khan, born 1850, died 1908.
  - Abdul Kadir Khan, born 1881.
  - Shah Husain, died 1903.
- Dost Muhammad Khan, born 1843.
  - Sher Muhammad, born 1871.
    - Ghulam Muhammad.
    - Gul Muhammad.

Khákwánis.

The Khákwáni family.—The Khákwánis say that they derive their name from Khákán, a village in the neighbourhood of Hirát*; others derive it from an incident connected with the hunting of the boar (khok). The first branch of the family to appear in Multán was that of Malik Sháh Pal, who with his brothers accompanied Hamáyún some four hundred years ago. His descendant, Ali Muhammad Khan, served, under Ahmad Sháh Abdáli, and was made Subadár of Multán, a post which he held till A. H. 1181 (A. D. 1767). It was he who constructed the Wali Muhammad canal. He was dismissed for oppression, but he refused the order deposing him, and seized and imprisoned Nawáb Shuja Khan, who had been appointed to succeed him: for this he was put to death by Ahmad Sháh. There are no descendants of this branch in Multán. The ancestor of the present Khákwánis was Lál Khan, who came from Ghazni some three hundred years ago. His son, Háji Ali Muhammad Khan, was governor of Sikandarábád under Nawáb Muzaffar Khan. Mustafa Khan, the son of Háji Ali, commenced his career in the Baháwalpur State, but he soon became one of Sáwan Mal's Kardárs, and on Mulraj's rebellion he took the side of the English and supported it to the utmost of his power. He again did good service in 1857, when he was tahsildar of Mailsi. For this he received a considerable grants of land and other rewards.

He died in 1869, and was succeeded by his son Ghulám Kádir Khan who followed in his father's footsteps as a loyal adherent of Government. Ghulám Kádir Khan completed the Hajiwah canal, which had been begun by his father, and in 1880 he was granted an area of 60,000 acres in proprietary

* Elphinstone (Caubul ii, 99) speaks of the Khákwánís as a small clan living partly at Kandáhar and partly mixed with the Nurzais.

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Population.

Khákwánis.

right, subject to certain conditions which were embodied in a formal deed of grant executed in 1886. At his death in 1888, he left four sons, but dissensions among them resulted in such inefficient administration that Government had to take over the canal. This in turn was followed by prolonged litigation; but the action of Government was eventually endorsed by the Privy Council. The family genealogy is shown below:—

- GHULAM MUSTAFA KHAN, died 1860.
  - Ghulám Kádir Khan, died 1888.
    - K. B. Muhammad Yár Khan.
      - Ghulam Muhammad Khan.
        - Zafar Ali Khan.
        - Akbar Khan.
        - Asad Khan.
      - Ata Muhammad Khan.
      - Faiz Muhammad Khan.
      - Dar Muhammad Khan.
      - Gul Muhammad Khan.
      - Nur Muhammad Khan.
    - Khan Ahmad Yár Khan.
      - Faiz Muhammad.
        - Rab Nawaz Khan and 4 other sons.
      - Dost Muhammad.
        - Ali Muhammad and 1 other son.
      - Ata Muhammad.
        - Aziz Ullah.
      - Dar Muhammad.
        - Amin Ullah.
    - Háfiz Khuda Bakhsh Khan.
      - Abdul Karim.
        - Ghulám Kadir Khan and 2 other sons.
      - Muhammad Aslam.
      - Abdul Halim.
      - Abdul Ghafúr.
    - Hafiz Hamed Yár Khan.
      - Abdul Kádir.
      - Mahmúd Khan.
      - Abdur Rahman.
      - Abdul Rahim.
      - Abdul Majid.
      - Muhammad Said.

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Khákwánis.

Khan Bahadur Muhammad Yár Khan is of somewhat retired habits, and, as he has no taste for business, his financial affairs are less satisfactory than those of his brothers. Khan Bahadur Khan Ahmad Yár Khan is a man of exceptional ability, who, had he not devoted many years of his life to litigation connected with the canal, would have made a big name for himself. He is a most efficient landlord with plenty of foresight and enterprise, and he has added largely to his ancestral wealth. Of late years he has on several occasions done good service to Government in the settlement of disputes on the Baluchistan Frontier.

The family is closely related by marriage to Khwaja Allah Bakhsh Khan of Taunsa.

The Khudakkás.

The Khudakkás who came from Persia in the 17th century were at one time a prominent family in Multán, and, although they have fallen on evil days, they are still respected on account of their birth and traditions. They own land in tahsíl Multán at Sadarpur and several members of the family are in Government service.

Babars.

Four families of the Babar clan are represented in the district, the most distinguished member being Khan Bahadur Rabnawaz Khan who after serving in the 15th Bengal Lancers and doing excellent political work on the Turkistan Border was made Assistant Political Agent in Chitrál from where he retired in 1898 covered with wounds and decorations. During the War he did political work of considerable value and his services were rewarded by a grant of land in the Lower Bari Doab Colony. As he had previously obtained land on the Sidhnai he is a man of means. He is an Honorary Magistrate and Zaildar.

Malezai Pathâns.

A Malezai family of Afghans owns several villages in the Lodhrán and Mailsi tahsíls. Its members have done good service in the Baháwalpur State and under the Amir of Khairpur, Sindh; and the present head of the family, Khan Ata Muhammad Khan, did good work during the War when he was Honorary Assistant Recruiting Officer. He received a grant of land for his services. He is a Divisional Darbari and a member of the District Board.

Non-resident Pathán families.

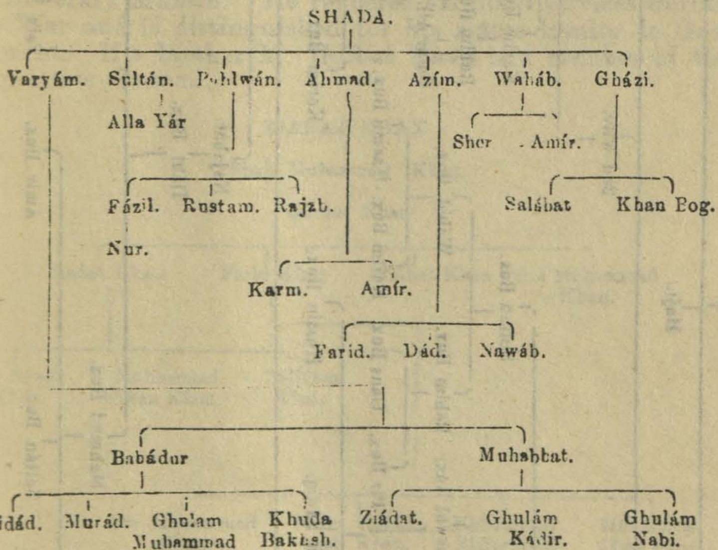
There are two Pathán families which, although not resident in the district, have considerable interests therein. The Saddizi Nawábs of Dera own large jágírs in Ferozpur and other villages of the Multán tahsíl, while the Alizai family which is descended from Nawáb Faujdár Khan has jágírs and property in Bákerpúr and other villages of the Multán tahsíl. For a full account of these families the reader is referred to "Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab."

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The Hirájs of Chauki Múhan.

The Hirájs of Chauki Múhan, an offshoot of the Siáls, came into prominence under Sultán Hiráj, a zaildar and large cattle owner of the last generation. Sultán gave good assistance to Government in connection with the transport required for the Afghán war of 1879-80, and was liberally rewarded with grants of land. He was succeeded by his son Alla Yár, who during the famine of 1899-1900 held an honorary post under Government in the Hissár District and was an Honorary Extra Assistant Commissioner. On his death very serious disputes arose between the various branches of the family and these still remain unsettled. The present head of the family is Mehr Wali Dád. The table below shows the various branches of the family:—



The Khokar.

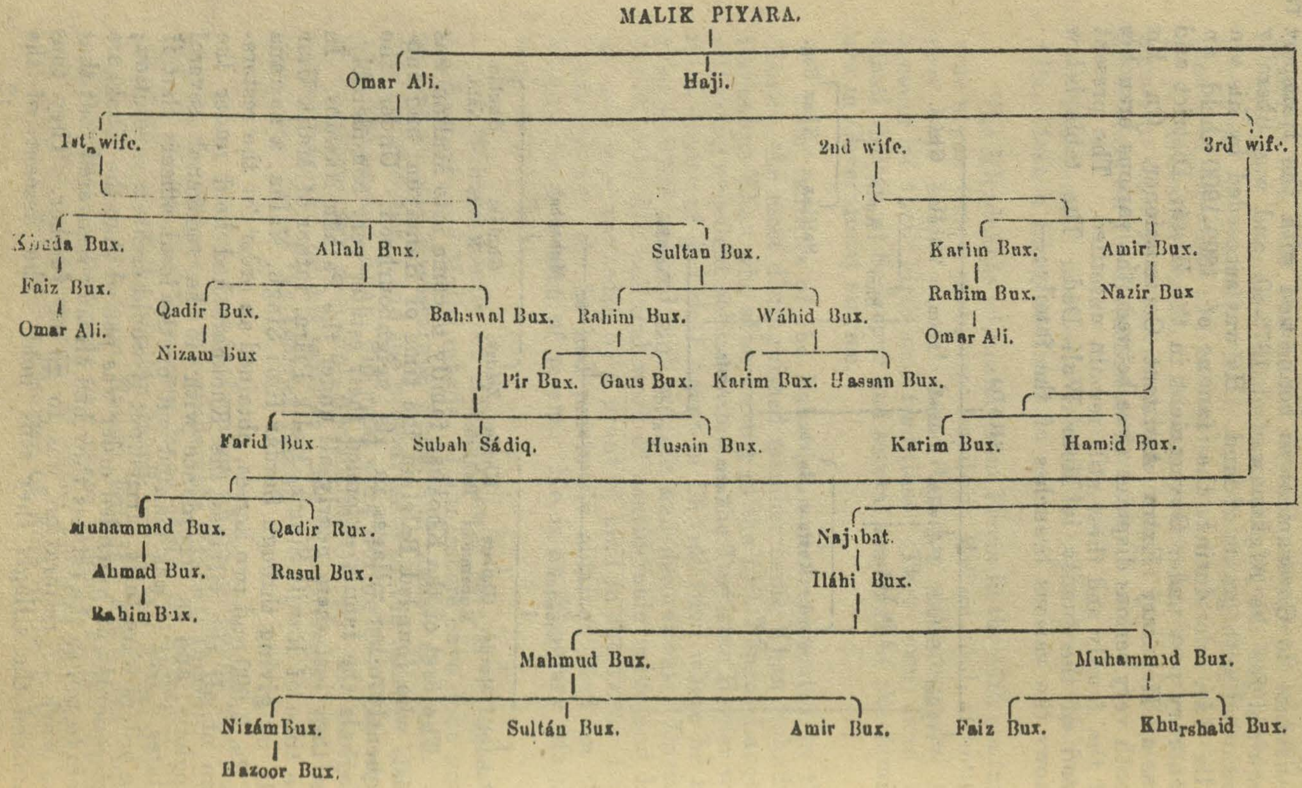
The first of the Khokhar family to come into Multán was Básí, who founded Balel in the time of Hamáyún, and subsequently other villages in its neighbourhood. Under the Moghals the family extended their estates very considerably, but they lost them nearly all under the Pathán Nawábs. In the time of Ranjít Singh, Malik Piára, father of Malik Umr Ali, by giving through Sardár Hari Singh, Nálua, a nazrana of Rs. 3,000 and two horses, obtained an order for the restoration of all the villages the Khokhars had held under the Moghals, and in accordance with it he recovered several estates. But it was pointed out by the local officers that if the orders were fully carried out it would create a revolution; consequently an amended order was passed that the Khokhars were to retain the estates they had already recovered, but that the work of restoration was to go no further. They thus retained the villages they still hold. The descent of the

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The Khokhars.

chief branches of the family from Malik Piara is as follows:—

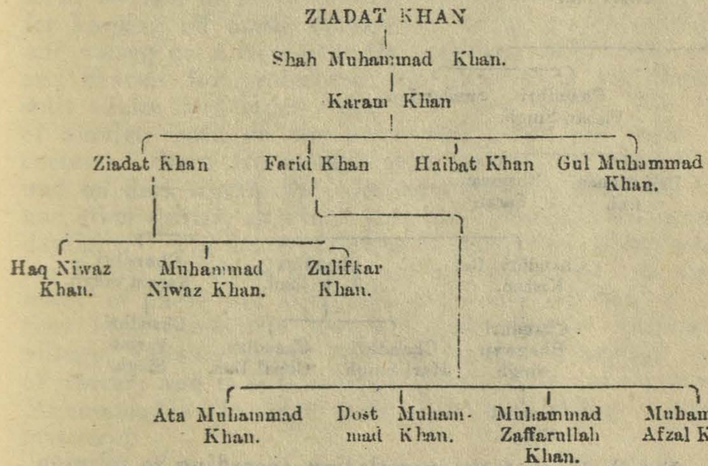


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The Dahás of Khánewál.

Another family of note and influence in the district is that of the Dahás of Khánewál, who trace their home to the Dharwár State whence they migrated to the Baháwalpur State, thence to the neighbourhood of Pákpattan and finally settled at Khánewál. At the time of Díwán Sáwan Mal, the head of the family was Ziádat Khan who held a post of some responsibility in the iláqás of Tulamba, Kot Kamália and Luddan. His son rendered good services during the mutiny in recognition of which he was made a Divisional Darbárí. The present head of the family is a minor, Haq Niwáz Khan and is a Zaildár and Divisional Darbári. Khan Sáhib Farid Khan, another member, is a Divisional Darbári, a Zaildár in the Khánewál tahsíl, an Honorary Risáldár and an Honorary Munsiff. He rendered excellent services during the War and is distinguished for his active loyalty to Government. His brother M. Haibat Khan is a member of the Legislative Council.



The Bosans.

Of similar standing to the family last described is that of the Bosans. Their ancestral land is situated at Bosan in the Multán tahsíl, but they have large holdings on the Sidhnái and Chenáb colonies. They are of good yeoman stock, thoroughly loyal to Government and men of much enterprise. Khan Sahib Amir Khan is a Divisional Darbári and Zaildár and has done consistently good service to Government for many years. His brother Ahmad Khan is also a Zaildár.

The Bablá Chaudhris.

The chief Hindu family of note is that of the Bablás of Shujábád. The members hold large estates mainly in the Shujábád tahsíl and as they are shrewd and enterprising they are men of considerable wealth. Chaudhri Bhagwan Singh is the present head of the family and takes an intelligent

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The Báblá Chaudhris.

part in public affairs. The genealogy of the family is given below :—

- CHAUDHRI RAM SAHAI.
  - Chaudhri Jas Mal.
    - Chaudhri Mohan Lal.
      - Chaudhri Dhannu Mal.
        - Chaudhri Hoa Ram.
          - Chaudhri Punnu Ram.
            - Chaudhri Vishan Singh.
              - Brij Mohan Lal.
              - Bhagwan Saran.
            - Sundar Lal.
          - Chaudhri Sham Singh.
            - Nand Lal.
          - Hari Kesha.
          - Uttam Chand.
      - Chaudhri Khem Singh.
        - Chaudhri Bal Kishen.
          - Chaudhri Bhagwan Singh.
            - Gobind Singh.
        - Chaudhri Lila Kishan.
          - Chaudhri Hari Singh.
          - Chaudhri Gopal Das.
        - Chaudhri Narain Singh.
          - Chaudhri Partab Singh.
      - Chaudhri Kanhaya Lal.
        - Chaudhri Sahavi Lal.
      - Chaudhri Kala Ram.

(m) Non-Christian religions.

The distribution of the population according to religion is shown in Table 16, Volume B. No less than 82 per cent. of the total population professes Islám, and in the villages the percentage is considerably higher. Hindus and Sikhs constitute 15 and 2 per cent., respectively, while the large cantonment population of Europeans mainly accounts for the remainder.

Muhammadans.

In the villages there is ordinarily little religious antagonism between the Muhammadan and Hindu and the strong communal feeling that not infrequently prevails has its origin more in political and economic causes than in differences of religion.

In Multán city the case is different; for religious prejudices die hard, and although the two communities may lie together in peace for years together, an unforeseen and trivial incident may stir up latent animosities and give rise to an

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Muhammadans.

outburst of fanaticism, which, though short-lived, has most deplorable consequences. Each community is very tenacious of its religious privileges and the Muhammadans in particular resent any innovation.

The practices of Multán Muhammadans are comparatively little affected by the semi-idolatrous rites and superstitions which often characterise the development of Islám in this country.

One finds of course the ordinary concomitants of Muhammadanism,—vows to saints, fear of supernatural agencies, found in the form common to African and Central Asian Muhammadanism rather than with any Hinduised characteristics. Among the common people vows are frequently made in the name of some saint or shrine, either in connection with the birth of children or the sickness or loss of cattle, or some other household event; and way-side shrines are often hung with the offerings of the faithful in the shape of small swings, or of cattle bells or rags, etc. Charms (phúl) for keeping off cattle disease are often put in earthen pots and swung on a rope over the entrance of the stall or pen; and charms for protecting the grain-heap are thrust into split sticks, and stuck upon the heap itself. The wearing of amulets both on the arms and round the neck is very common: there are witches who can extract a man's liver; and on dark nights the peasantry have a belief in 'jinns' and other spirits, at which they will generally smile in broad daylight.* The more religious minded who attend with fair regularity the times of prayer† are known as 'nimází,' and many of these are equipped with rosaries (tasbih), which they keep constantly between their fingers. Almost every village, however small, has some kind of mosque or place of prayer; and it is common practice for the more wealthy Muhammadans to mark their piety by building a mosque of masonry.‡

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* Regarding witches there is a proverb: 'Hik dáin baí tarak charhe' (An ugly witch to start with and she rides a hyena) of persons who add to their innate repulsiveness by additional horrors—a saying which used to be applied sometimes to the police constable and his uniform. The belief in spirits gives rise among Hindús to the following 'Shahr vasande deote, báhar vasande bhút' (The gods live in town, the devils in the country): a counterblast to 'Man made the town but God made the country.'

† There is a time for all things and prayer at times not prescribed is useless. 'Vele dí namáz kuwele dián takrán' is a local proverb—(At the right time prayer is prayer: at the wrong time it is merely beating your head on the ground.)

‡ Some of the traditional views of religious history are worth noting. When, for instance, a man fails to understand something, he will say: 'Likhe Músa parhe Khudá' (What Moses wrote, God alone can read). When a man tries to escape from what is inevitable they say: 'Isá nathá maut tún, agge maut kharí' (Jesus fled from death to escape from the Jews, but death stood before him).

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Population.
Muhammadans.

One of the marked features of the local Muhammedanism is the practice of 'Pírí Murídí.' A disciple who for a time follows a particular man is known as a 'tálib'; but those who maintain a perpetual subservience to the teacher are known as 'muríds.' The teacher is known as the pír, and in many respects he takes the place of the Hindu guru. Practically every Muhammadan in the district has his pír*. He is not bound to adopt the same pír as his father, but he generally does so, and, once having adopted him, he keeps to him for life. The pír is in most cases a Syad, Koreshi or Khagga: he travels periodically among his muríds, and is treated by them with great deference, and is supported by them with food and conveyance free of charge. In return for this he gives little or no religious teaching, but provides such charms and amulets as are required.

The bulk of the people are of course Sunnís, and, so far as they come within any Sunní denomination, they may be said to belong to that of the Abu Hanifa, known as the Imám Azam; but some of the fisher and boatman tribes will describe themselves as followers of Imám Sháfi, mainly because of the greater latitude in feeding which the tenets of that teacher are supposed to allow.

Owing to intercourse with Persia, Multán has always been more or less open to schismatic influences, and there has always been a nucleus of Shiás in the district. Under the great Mughals and under the Durranis, however, the Shiás were forced outwardly to conform with Sunní practices, and it is only of late years that, with increasing tolerance, the Shiás have more openly proclaimed themselves as such. In several Shiá families a marriage would, until recent years, be celebrated, both publicly in the Sunní fashion and privately after the Shiá rites. There is no organized proselytizing, but every now and then a man is by conversation or by the loan of books induced to change his sect, and there seems no doubt that conversions from Sunnism to Shíism are more common than *vice versâ*. There is no bar to marriage between the two sects, but, a woman who marries a Shiá is deemed *ipso facto* to become a Shiá herself. The chief Shiás in the district are found among the more prominent Syads, and Koreshi families, such as the Gardezis of Multán and Salarwáhan, the Syads of Kuranga and Dhrúharwáhan and the Koreshis of Multán, among the Kazilbásh and Persian immigrants, and among one or two families of the Khákwáni Patháns. Others, such as some of the Syads of Kahror, have a leaning towards Shíism and are known to their neighbours as 'Ním Shiás,' or 'Khafíf Shiás.' The Shiá observances are more strictly carried out

* To be without a pír and mír (*i.e.*, a mirási) is practically to be an outcast. The word 'be-pír' is used as a term of reproach.

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in the towns than in the villages, and in Multán the Shiás maintain maulvís, who give fatwás on matter of doubt. They do not use the same mosques as the Sunnís, having their own mosques and imámbárás. They have colloquies at the mosques on Fridays, but not, as a rule, set sermons like the Sunnís and Wahábís. They are careful in the observance of the mourning in Moharram; and although Sunnís join freely in the tázia procession, such observances are practically unknown, except in quarters where there are Shiás to start and organize them. Generally speaking there is very little bitterness between the Sunní and Shiá sects, and in the ordinary intercourse of life there is little to distinguish the two.

The Ahl-i-Hadís or Wahábís are not very numerous; and though they have no doubt increased in numbers, their attitude towards the other sects is less truculent than it used to be some years ago. They are still looked on with some suspicion by co-religionists, and a man is often described as a 'sakht Wahábí' with the hint that he is in the eyes of the speaker little, if at all, better than an atheist. The Wahábís are found mainly in Multán city and among the Khojás of Jalálpur Pírwála; but there are also scattered Wahábís elsewhere, as in Amirgarh in Kabírwála, in Alamgir and Kayánpur in Multán, in Shahpur Ubbha in Shujabád, and so forth. The chief points on which the Wahábís in this district differ from their co-religionists are in their objection to táziás; their repudiation of all pilgrimages except that to Mecca; their abhorence of shrines, and certain peculiarities in their attitudes at prayer. In Multán they have their separate mosques, but in the villages they use the same mosques as others, and pray with other Muhammadans more commonly now than was formerly the case.

The important pilgrimage for the Sunnís is that to Mecca and Medina. The Wahábi goes only to Mecca. The Shiá goes also, if he can, to Kerbela and to Meshed. Pilgrimages of all kinds are not uncommon. For a man of the Rais class a pilgrimage is a serious undertaking, as he is generally accompanied by a considerable company of women and dependants, and the expenses increase accordingly. For a man in ordinary circumstances, who travels by himself, the pilgrimage is not very expensive.

It is a very common practice for Muhammadans to go on Thursday evenings to pay their respects to some neighbouring shrine or to light lamps on some grave. On Fridays ordinary work is carried on till 12 or 1 o'clock by most Muhammadans, though some of the more devout abstain entirely from business on that day. At noon, or soon after, it is usual to attend prayers, and after prayers those who can afford it very frequently close their shops or otherwise cease from work.

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This custom is said to be growing, and no doubt will continue to grow as intercourse with the western forms of Muhammadanism increases.

Religion of the Hindus.

The number of indigenous Jat and Rájpút Hindús is small and the community is almost entirely confined to non-agricultural castes such as Brahmans, Aroras and Bhátiás. As a consequence, they are domiciled mainly in the towns, and are thus brought into close touch with the reforming movements of modern times. Multán city itself is a centre of the Aryá Smájists, who, following the teaching of their founder Swámi Daya Nand, are monotheists who regard the Vedás as infallible. The sect is also strong in Shujábád and has many adherents all over the district. There are branches of the Sanátan Dharm and the Brahmo Samáj in Multán city; but the tendency, so far as one can judge, is to attach less importance to differences of belief and ritual and more importance to political and social solidarity.

Of the older forms of worship, the Shiva side of Hindúism is poorly represented outside the large towns. Vaishnava tenets and practices are more common, their prevalence being attributable to the movement of two reformers Shámjí and Lálji who in the 16th century received their main support from the Krishan centres of Mathúra and Bindrában. Their influence spread to the south-western Punjab and surrounding districts and there are large temples of these reformers at Dera Ismáil Khan and Dera Gházi Khan and Leiah.

A remarkable feature of the local Hindúism is the widespread river-worship prevalent in this district, more especially in the three southern tahsíls. The river-worship is carried out mainly on Sundays, and the worshippers are known as Sewaks, their gurús being known by the name of Thákars. The followers of the Thákars are mainly Aroras, and there are Thákars' places of worship in Multán city, Kasba, Shujábád and elsewhere. The Thákars are themselves Aroras of the Dakhna section, and their original seat is at the shrine of Vadhera Lál at Sakhar in Sind, a shrine of which the guardians are said to be Muhammadans. The incarnation of Vadhera Lál is also known by other names such as Dulan Lál, Amar Lál, Zinda Pír, Darya Sáhib, Ralhal Purak, etc., and the history of the incarnation is said to be fully described in a book called the "Amargit." The chief characteristics of the Sewak worship are the maintenance of lights (*jots*) before a pitcher of water or on the canals, the observance of a fast during the day on the second and fourteenth days of the moon, and the weekly bathing in the river. The more strict among the river worshippers go daily to the river, even if it may be four or five miles from their homes. The followers of Ganjámali who have a temple in honour of

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a Brahman saint of this name in Multán city and the followers of Gopálji are sects very similar to the river-worshipping community. It is curious to note how this river worship has now quite superseded the sun worship for which Multán used to be so renowned. The fact, however, that the river worship is conducted chiefly by bathing festivals (*dháonís*) on Sunday (*Adityáwár, Itwár*) may point to a historical connection between the two forms of worship.

It may also be observed that the cult of the serpent which is undoubtedly closely associated with river worship in the Himáláyás and elsewhere, was ultimately connected with the worship of the sun. It is possible that while in the hills the serpent displaced the sun as the chief object of worship, in the south-west Punjab the river took the place of the latter. If, as there is good reason to believe, Nág or serpent worship represents in one form the visualised worship of the winding river* the difference between the hills and the plains is one of form rather than principle.

Sikhs.

The district contains a fairly large number of Nának Panthi Sikhs, but they approach more closely to the Hindú than the Sikh doctrines, and the tenets of Sikhism have never acquired any very strong hold among the indigenous Hindús of Multán. The Sikh population consists mainly of settlers from the Central Punjab and the colonisation of the Lower Bari Doáb Canal has added largely to their number in recent years. Among them are many retired officers and men of the Indian Army who in their religious observances set a high standard to their fellow Sikhs. Although the Sikhs of the district are, for the most part, strongly in favour of the reform of gurdwárás, they have, on the whole, kept aloof from the objectionable activities of the Akáli movement.

Shrines to saints.

The district is thickly dotted with shrines of various degrees of age and sanctity; some of these will be described in a later chapter. The more famous of the rest is the fine shrine of Sultán Ahmad Kattál at Jalálpur Pirwála. This saint was a descendant of Syad Jalál of Uch, a native of Bokhára, who died in A. H. 690 (A. D. 1291). Pír Kattál himself was born at Uch in A. H. 949 (A. D. 1542) and at an early age set out on his travels with Sanniásís and other holy men of both religions. At Kahror he attended on Pír 'Alí Sarwar, and one day, when Alí Sarwar was asleep and some sparrows began to twitter, Ahmad Kattál, fearing that they would wake the saint, slew them by a single word. Pír 'Alí Sarwar on waking and seeing what had happened, said 'You are a great killer' (kattál); for which reason the saint

* As a local instance of a winding stream being identified with a snake, one may mention the village Náguí in the Lodhran tahsíl so called after a serpentine canal cut.

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Shrines to saints.

was known thereafter as Ahmad Kattál. After travelling to Mecca, Baghdád and Karbalá, he returned to Multán, and for sometime preached in the *bár* country among Lakhwera and Saldera tribes, whom he converted to Islám. He took up his abode in 990 A. H. (A. D. 1582) in Jalálpur, and died in A. H. 1041 (A. D. 1631) in the odour of great sanctity. The present tomb was built by one of his descendants in A. H. 1158 (A. D. 1745), and though not very striking in outline it presents a magnificent field of coloured tile work of a good kind.

There is a large fair here every Friday in the month of Chet (March—April) which is celebrated for the practice, which prevails, of exorcising evil spirits from women. The practice is known as ' jinn khelna ' and the Musalmán women are exorcised by day and the Hindus by night. There is a good deal of scandal connected with the business, it is openly said that women feign possession in order to make assignations at the fair, and the better class of zamíndárs look on the matter with a certain amount of disgust.

In the Kabírwála tahsíl there is at Rampur a shrine of Jati Abdál, or Abdál the Chaste, a servant of Dára Shekoh. No women are admitted into the shrine, and the river has hitherto scruplously avoided diluviating it. At Aroti is the tomb of Mian Rahmán, a saint of Aurangzeb's time, and at Baghdád is that of Sháh Habíb, a miracle worker of the days of Sháh Jahán. In Abdul Hakim is the shrine of the saint of that name, a charhoa or dhobi by caste, who died in 1732 A. D.: the tomb is revered by the rulers of Bikánir because of a miracle worked on the bitter Bikánir wells by some followers of the saint. Among the disciples of Abdul Hakím was a woman, a Nunári by caste, called Mai Sapuran, whose tomb is in the village of that name: she was able to spread out her prayer carpet on the waters of the Rávi and to kneel for prayer upon it, and both she and her descendants could cure the bites of mad dogs. At the large mound outside Tulamba, which Cunningham identifies with the ' strongly fortified position ' taken by Alexander in this neighbourhood, is the shrine of Mámán Sher, who was martyred with Dátá Ganj Bakhsh at Lahore, but rode back without his head to the place where his body is now buried. Near Sarai Siddhu is the shrine of Arjan Sher, who rode on a tiger with a snake in his hand and destroyed a terrible jinn, who used to feed on the children of the neighbourhood. At Sirdárpur is a shrine in honour of Tálib Shah Bukhárí, who came from Uch some five hundred years ago.

In the Multán tahsíl there are, besides the shrines of Multán, four or five more or less well-known shrines. One is that of Isa and Musa at Fatuhalpur: this Musa was a wonder-worker from Delhi: when he shook hands with Sháh Ali Muhammad, of Sher Sháh, their hands stuck together.

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Besides the above, there is the tomb at Shahkot of Zain-ul-abdin, father of Sakhi Sarwar: a tomb with some good tile-work and a handsome gateway, which is worth seeing; also the shrine of Makhdúm Abdurrashid or Makhdúm Rashid on the Mailsi road. This saint was cousin of Baháwal Haqq; and a very fine shrine has been erected during recent years in his honour, but the most sacred feature of the place is the brackish well outside the village site. Another curious shrine is that of Budhla Sant at *Dograna*, with its adjacent tank; this saint was a Hindú weighman who wrought miracles, and finally disappeared into a jál tree, round which the present shrine is built.*

In the north of Shujábád tahsíl are some small shrines, such as that of Pír Ghaib in Halalwaja, Muhammad Isa in Khánpur, and Sháh Rashid at the gate of Shujábád itself. The chief shrines are, however, towards the south of the tahsíl. At Lutfpur is the chauki or the resting-place of Pír Dáúd Jahánian, a herdsman of the Muzaffargarh saint Makhdúm Jahánian; this Pír Dáúd made a dead stick blossom in a shisham tree, and sand from his shrine, if warmed and applied to a boil, is a sovereign remedy. Near Bahadarpur is the roofless tomb of Pír Aulia Ghori, which is said to date from Humáyún's time, and in which used to grow a talking melon which spoke the words 'Salaam alekum': this tomb is now a common resort for persons bitten by mad dogs and jackals. At Naurájabhutta lie the bodies of Hásil and Wásil, two holy men who were martyred there: and at Umarpur lie the remains of Sheikh Ismáil, a disciple of Baháwal Haqq, who appears in a dream to deter any one that tries to make his tomb 'pukka.' Lastly, there is the shrine of Shah Mihr Ali at Darabpur, a mud-built tomb of a saint who disappeared miraculously some three hundred years ago.

In Lodhrán there are a few fairly well-known shrines. Among these are the Gardezi tomb at Adamwáhan, now falling into considerable disrepair, and the shrine of Pír Múla at Maulvi Sikandar, built in the time of the Emperor Mahomed Sháh. At Lahori rests the body of Pír Fattehulla: this saint lived some three hundred years ago. When a child he was found weeping at the thought of the grave, and received a promise that he would never be buried: accordingly when he died two coffins came down from heaven: they are both in the shrine and can be seen from outside, but no one knows in which of them the pír lies. At Kahror are the shrines of Ali Sarwar and Pír Burhán. At Rappar is the tomb of Pír Jíwan Sultán, a saint of Shah Jahán's time, and in the

* This saint was one day weighing out the corn, and as he did so, he used the words 'Kul únwíá.' A passing fakír said: 'Does he mean Kul unwí' (19 in all) or does he mean 'Kul un wiá' (Go also to HIM, *i.e.*, God).

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middle of the desert east of Dunyapur is the khánkáh of Sultán Ayúb Kattál, the grandson of Makhdúm Rashíd, a saint who was a special adherent of Khwája Khizr, and is said to have died in A. H. 766 (A. D. 1364).

In Mailsi are one or two Hindú shrines of local celebrity: including that at Nagarkot, near Fadda,—a comparatively modern shrine of Devi, the vicinity of which is haunted, because some centuries ago two girls were at this place set upon by dacoits and killed. The mound of Díwán Chawali Mashaikh is named after one of the very early converts to Islám, and on this site there are several curiosities, *viz.*, the tomb of the Díwán and of his sister, the staff of the Díwán, the shrine of his Wazír Shekoh Sáhib, the jál tree from which the Díwán sprang out as a tiger, the well in which Bábá Farid hung head downwards for twelve years, the tombs of Bábá Farid's three sons, and, lastly, a shrine and Darbár Sáhib in commemoration of Bábá Nának. At Dhallu is the shrine of Abubakar Waraq, a building of distinct beauty: this saint was connected with the Chishtís of Ajmer, and he was called Waraq because he used every day to give his disciples a leaf of paper (warq), on which he wrote something and bade them take it to the river, where a mystic hand would be stretched out to take the 'warq' and give another 'warq' in exchange. This saint was a particular friend of Khwája Khizr; and lately when the shrine wanted repair, and no timber long enough for the roof could be found, the river brought down logs of the required size and deposited them near the tomb. Outside is a remarkable carved stone, evidently at one time a part of some Hindú temple, which is pointed out as the alms' bowl of the saint. At Dhruharwáhan are the shrines of another Abu Bakar and his son and grandson: this Abu Bakar came here early in the fourteenth century; and hard by is the tomb of his brother Ahmad Sultán, where women who are possessed with devils get cured.

Ruined religious buildings.

The shrines above mentioned are all in more or less good repair; but there are two buildings worth noticing, which are now uncared for and in a state of comparative ruin. One of these is the fine tomb of Khálid bin Walíd, usually known as Khálid Wali, near Khattíchor in Kabírwála. Khálid is said to have been a Koreshi, who came from Arabia in 1015 A.D.: the present shrine is said to have been built in the fourteenth century and to have been repaired by Sháh Jahán. This emperor also built a sarái here, and Khálid Wali appears in the old geographies under various disguises as one of the stages on the road between Multán and Lahore. Some camel-owners offended the saint, and no camel's milk will give butter in this neighbourhood. There is a white stone in the middle of the dome, which is said to be made

of camels' butter: a drop is said to fall from time to time, and when the last drop falls the day of judgment will come.

Ruined religious buildings.

Another and, perhaps, still more remarkable ruin is, that of the incomplete mosque at Malikwáhan in the Mailsi tahsíl. The mosque is situated on a high mound picturesquely surrounded by trees, and it still bears considerable fragments of exquisite tile-work, including some in colours not ordinarily found elsewhere. These remains, like many others in the Mailsi tahsíl (*e.g.*, at Shergarh, Lakhan, etc.), probably date from the flourishing days of the seventeenth century.

Graveyards.

One of the proverbial characteristics of Multán city is the prevalence of graveyards; and in the district at large the graveyards (goristán or gustán) are a marked feature in the landscape. They are generally on ground too high for irrigation or cultivation, often on ruined 'bhirs', and are entered somewhat pathetically in the revenue records as 'Makbúza Ahl-i-Islám'. It is common to bury in the neighbourhood of some saint's grave, and in such cases the wood round the grave is allowed to grow, it being considered profanity to lay hands upon it. Though most of the graveyards are bare unlovely spots, there is a tendency, where possible, to find a shady place for graves. The grave is generally of mud; often a couple of bricks are set at the head, leaning against each other, to shelter the lamp; or else a small chamber is built for this purpose, or else the lamp is left unsheltered. Sometimes there are small earthen ornaments at the four corners of the grave. Sometimes at the head or foot there is a coloured tile containing the words 'Yá Allah' or the name of the deceased. Women are buried in tombs of the same shape as the men's: pardah women have generally a special portion of the graveyard allotted to them, but otherwise men and women are buried indiscriminately. Children sometimes have separate graveyards (there is one such in the village of Wahí Channar in Lodhrán) and, in the villages at least, Hindú children are buried without objection in Muhammadan graveyards.

At the period of the Moharram it is the custom for surviving relatives to repair the tombs of their dead and to pour water over them; and on the tenth day of that month it is the practice to spread branches of palm-trees or masúr over the graves.

For the grave of a pír or saint considerable outward reverence is shown: it is salaamed from a distance and shoes are taken off in its vicinity; but ordinary graveyards are treated without much sentiment. They are generally unfenced.

(*n*) Ecclesiastical Administration and Christian Missions.

There is a large Anglican Church in cantonments where parade and other services are regularly held. As the garrison includes a British Regiment, a Government Chaplain

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is posted at Multán. There is also a Roman Catholic Chapel where parade services are held for the benefit of Roman Catholic troops.

(n) Ecclesiastical Administration and Christian Missions

The number of Indian Christians in the district was 384 in 1911; but, in consequence of the colonisation of the Khánewál tahsíl, a considerable influx has occurred during recent years.

The chief agency for the superintendence of the native Christian community was, for many years, the Church Missionary Society which beginning its work in 1855 founded educational and medical institutions of much value to all communities. Unfortunately the great increase in the cost of maintenance has compelled the Society to restrict the scope of its operations. It has had to sell the very fine school buildings opposite the District Courts and close down the Girls' School in which Miss Wadsworth, the late Principal, worked devotedly for 30 years. The book-shop in the city has also been closed. There now remains only the Women's Hospital in cantonments and the congregation attached thereto, but this institution is in itself a monument to the devoted labours of the band of lady doctors and workers who have from time to time been attached to it. The hospital is freely resorted to by women of all religions, and it is justly and widely known for its excellent work. There is also a branch of the American Episcopal Methodist Mission working in the district with its headquarters in cantonments.

(o) Occupations.

Table 17 of the Statistical Volume gives the principal occupations of the people, while more detailed figures will be found in Table 17 of the Census Report of 1921. The more common means of livelihood are derived from agriculture and pasture, from industries relating to textiles, dress and building and from transport. About 54 per cent. of the population is returned as dependent on the land, but the actual proportion is considerably higher than this, as many members of occupational castes describe their means of livelihood as that of the caste occupation when they actually subsist by agriculture.

(p) Food of the people.

Although the system of wells protects the district from acute famine, the vagaries of the inundation canals prevent continuous prosperity and years of distress or at least of scarcity recur with sufficient frequency to make the question of our daily bread matter of concern to a large section of the people. Formerly, the menial classes were the first to suffer; but the old proverb 'Pahlí chikki kál dí mochi te Paoli' is only half a truth since the demand for casual labourers increased. The lower middle classes are now probably worst affected by scarcity and high prices, although the lean years lay a burden of debt on small landlords and tenants whose produce does not suffice for their needs.

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(g) Food of the people.

The staple food of the people consists of the kharíf grains, the pulses, wheat and rice. The kharíf grains, generally speaking, are sown in July and harvested in October; the pulses and wheat are sown in November and December and harvested in April. The proportion of wheat to inferior grains eaten has increased much during recent years, but it still depends to a considerable extent on the means of the family. It depends also on the tract in which the family lives: in the Ráwa, for instance, where little but wheat is grown, little but wheat is eaten even by the poor. Rice is very little eaten in this district except at festivals: the rice grown locally is poor, and good rice for eating has to be imported from Baháwalpur or the Punjab The ordinary poor zamíndár eats jowár in the winter, diversified at times with bájra or chína; in the summer he takes wheat, or sometimes chína or gram. The more prosperous landholders and the inhabitants of the towns take pulse and vegetables with the bread; the ordinary zamíndár does not always manage to do this. The poorer people make free use of turnip stalks and roots, especially in bad years; and the very poorest have to fall back for sustenance in years of distress on food like the ber-fruit, the fruit of the pilú, chopped methra leaves, the unopened buds of the karín (known as báta or dehlá), and so forth. The chapátís eaten in towns are generally much thinner than those eaten in the villages.

Meat is very seldom eaten except by the better class, and except on occasions of rejoicing or by way of hospitality. Even for the better class the cooking is not done in the house, nor is the meat partaken of by the women. The ordinary dish is goat; mutton and fowls being far less commonly eaten. Kirárs, being better able to afford it, eat meat more commonly than ordinary zamíndárs, and in Multán city the greater number of the Hindús eat meat daily. Along the rivers the consumption of fish is not uncommon even among the lower castes.

The use of gur and spices of various kinds is not unusual, but it is more common in towns than outside. Ghí is much more commonly used in the towns than in the villages. Salt is almost always used, whether the vegetables eaten with the food are of a saline character or not. Sweetmeats and sweet cakes are much sought after in towns, but to the ordinary labourer or peasant they represent a height of luxury to which he does not often attain. Of the man whose desires are unreasonable, he says: 'Ghar bhanejí átá nahín, Phúlke shokh pakáwe' (In his niece's house there is not even flour, yet he calls for sweet-cake); or 'Ek pinn khwáná, dújhá halwe dí khair' (He is begging to avoid starvation, and yet he insists on having sweetmeats); and he shows his idea of the luxuriousness of sweet things in the saying:

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(q) Food of the people.

'Bhath piyá be-sharmi dá síra, jo ság sharma dá changá' (The sweetmeat of dishonour goes bad, while the herb of honour tastes good). The sweetmeats sold in towns are the ordinary laddú, pera, ware, &c., of the Punjab. The town of Shujábád, in the proximity of which a certain amount of sugarcane is grown, is especially celebrated for the varieties of thin cake known as 'pápar' and the sweetmeat known as 'rewri'. There is also a special kind of sugar, of a crystallized kind, called sangrí misrí or kujá dí misrí, which is said to be a speciality of Multán.

The ordinary drink in the towns is water, and in the country water or butter milk (lassi). Those who can afford it will drink milk: and milk comes in for sale in Multán city from the nearer villages. The favourite milk in the city is cow's milk; in the country buffalo's milk is preferred, being richer. In the bár, camel's milk is drunk. There is no great consumption of spirits in the district: those who can afford them are comparatively few; and although many, both Muhammadans and Hindús, who drink to excess, are otherwise respectable men, the practice is looked on with disfavour by both religions: and it is, of course, contrary to the strict precepts of Islám. The drinking of tea has increased much but is still unusual in the villages.

The usual plan for grown-up persons in the district is to dine once about midday, and again soon after dark. The peasants are, however, very irregular in their hours, and, if necessary, go without their morning meal altogether, without feeling the worse for it. In the ploughing season they often take a small repast (túkkar, kassá, lassí, and, Kabírwála panráká) in the early morning.

Nearly every male, as soon as he can manage a huqqa, smokes tobacco. Smoking among women is, however, rare, except in the lower castes. The ordinary tobaccos of the district, especially those with a special name, such as are grown in the Tulamba and Luddan tracts, are considered good smoking; and it is only a minority who prefer the more biting weed of Afghanistan. The smoking of cigarettes has spread very rapidly in the towns, but in the villages the huqqa retain its pride of place. Snuff is taken as a preventive of colds in the head, and so forth, and also fairly commonly as an ordinary indulgence; the snuff is generally kept in a small wooden box (dabbi) in the waistband or turban, and the tobacco employed is both country and Kábulí.

The drinking of 'post' is very little known, and the use of 'chandu' is practically confined to the cantonment bazar. Opium is taken in the form of pills, but the practice is for the most part confined to men of bad character. 'Charas' is little used outside Multán, and in Multán the tum-tum drivers, Sádhús and Brahmans are said to be the

chief victims of this form of indulgence. The drinking of 'bhang' is very common among the fakir class, both Hindú and Mussalmán; and among the villagers, too, a certain amount of bhang is said to be drunk with the excuse that this drink is suited to the climate of Multán. Hindús also use it frequently during the bathing season. Speaking generally, opium and hemp drugs, as forms of indulgence, are confined to the big towns and the cantonment bazar; outside they are chiefly used as medicines only.

(q) Food of the people.

The use of spirits or intoxicants is rare among women of any religion or any class in the district except during the Holi festival.

(r) Dress.

The ordinary Mahomedan wears a 'patka' or 'pag' or turban on his head, and sometimes a 'kulla' or cap inside. In the towns the Khilafat movement has made the fez more popular; but it is mainly worn as a substitute for the turban when indoors. In the cold weather a wadded cap coming over the ears (called a kannewalí topí) is commonly worn: a topí of this kind lasts for some six months, and as the hair is commonly oiled, the state of the head-gear at the end of that time can be easily imagined. This form of topí is higher and larger on the Sutlej border than elsewhere, and on that border a cloth topí is sometimes substituted. In buying cloth for a turban it is usual among Muhammadans to buy an uneven number of yards, such as 9, 11, 13, &c. The turban is tied in different ways, and that part which is the front elsewhere is in Kabírwála worn somewhat on one side. Its size varies according to its owner's taste, and his idea of his own importance: some of the Syads indulge in the most monstrous specimens. Turbans on the Baháwalpur border are larger than elsewhere and the Muhammadan turbans are, as a rule, larger than those of Hindús. Hindús wear the pagri, and, to a certain extent, the 'kullá' also; and though they usually tie the 'pagi' in a different way to the Muhammadans, the difference is disappearing, especially in the towns. In the towns, too, it is common for them to wear a 'topí' or cap instead of the 'pagri' when indoors.

The fashion of dress worn is much more uniform than formerly throughout the district, and local or tribal peculiarities are disappearing. The Biloches, for instance, no longer dress like their tribesmen across the Indus, and the greater number of the Patháns have discarded the shalwár or wide trousers of their ancestors. The Muhammadans, generally speaking, take more trouble about their dress and general appearance than the Hindús. The normal costume in the district consists of a waistcloth, a coat of some kind, and a plaid worn over the shoulder. The waistcloth ('majhla' or 'manjhla') is generally white or blue: among the Arains it is generally blue, and the Arains of Jalla in Lodhrán are

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known to their neighbours as the 'nilí paltan,' from their affection for the blue majhla; the Hindús substitute a 'dhoti' for the 'majhla'. Over the body it is usual to wear a 'chola' or 'kurta'; both are short coats, but the latter is closed by buttons, and the former by a loop. Over all the other clothes is thrown, in the form of a plaid, the 'chadar' of cotton: among the richer sort the plaid is a 'lungi' or 'khes' of better material: among the poorer it is often a coarse blanket, known as 'bhagal' or 'lukar'. Some add a rumál or large handkerchief of 'khaddar' (coarse country cloth), which is worn hanging loose on the shoulder. In the towns and especially among the younger generation European fashions in dress are by no means uncommon, but the villages are still unaffected.

The women's dress consists of three parts, corresponding to the three items above described. Round the waist and legs are worn 'suthans' ('paijámas') or petticoats ('ghaggra'), the former being found mainly in the towns; and Hindú women, when cooking or washing, often substitute the 'majhla' or 'dhoti' for the petticoat. The Hindú petticoat is generally shorter and shows more ankle than that of the Muhammadan women. On the body is worn the short jacket, called 'kurti' or 'choli', or a longer jacket, known as 'kurta' or 'chola', often coloured in broad stripes of green, yellow, &c., and always fitted with very short sleeves. Over the jacket and over the head is worn the 'chadar' or 'bhochhan', which is generally of white or red cloth; Hindú widows wearing white only. This head covering is sometimes dispensed with by the poorer castes, and is almost always discarded by all castes when indoors. The elaborate patterned plaids and silk-worked 'phulkaris', so common in the Central Punjab, are quite unknown among the peasantry here. The 'parda' women of the Patháns, Syads, &c., wear, when in public, the long enveloping cloak, known as the 'burqa': but the 'burqa' is not so commonly seen in Multán as in the Punjab proper. Generally speaking, the women of this district, contrary to the practice of their European sisters, wear their best frocks when they are at home, and their worst when they go out.

The Hindús, as a rule, wear their hair shaved or very short, with the exception of the 'choti' or scalp lock: the first shaving of a child's head is complete, but in subsequent shavings the scalp lock is left untouched. Both Muhammadans and Hindús generally wear the hair fairly short (so as not to fall perceptibly below the level of the lobe of the ear); but on the Sutlej side, and especially among Biloches and Dáúdputrás, the hair is allowed to hang over the shoulders. A common custom in both religions is to shave a rectangular space on the crown of the head; and officials or students often

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keep the hair quite short like Europeans, on the supposition that long hair interferes with the working of the brain. It is customary to wash the hair pretty frequently with Multáni 'mitti' or soap made of 'sajji', and, owing to the dryness of the climate, it is customary to anoint the hair frequently with oil, made of sarson, camphor and coriander. Among women the hair is not usually cut; it is customary, especially among Muhammadans, for a girl's hair to be plaited up to marriage; after marriage, it is (contrary to ordinary Punjab usage) worn loose. In the northern parts of the district the women sometimes wear the hair plaited and knotted on the top of the head.

Ornaments.

Men seldom wear ornaments: a few have bracelets or ear-rings or finger-rings, but the custom of men wearing ornaments is gradually disappearing. The ornaments worn by the women are much the same for Hindús as for Muhammadans, but the Hindús, being more wealthy, are able to afford a better stamp of ornament than the Muhammadans; and while the Hindú woman will often wear her ornaments daily, the Muhammadan prefers to keep hers for special occasions. The usual complement of ornaments consists of ear-rings (murkián, wálián, jhumke, tukma), nose-rings (nath) or nose studs (laung), necklaces (katmálá or hassí), armlets (bázúband, tád), bracelets (chúra, pounchi, kangan), plaques (takhtís), finger-rings (challe, mundrián), thumb-rings (ársi) and anklets (karián, anwatián, lachhe). The women in Kabírwála and the Khatri women in Multán also wear the 'choti-phul' on the top of the hair; but this is uncommon in the other tahsíls. The ornaments are said to differ very little from those worn in the Central Punjab: but the solid anklets (karián) are said to be more common in Multán, and the chain anklets (lachhe) in the Punjab. Generally speaking, the people of this district are poorer than in the Punjab proper, and the amount of jewellery possessed by them is smaller.

(s) Dwellings.

The city houses are nearly all made of burnt brick, and are two or more stories in height; but the walls are narrower and the foundations weaker than in cities like Lahore and Amritsar, owing to the small amount of rainfall which they are calculated to withstand. Some of them have underground cellars, which are used for protection from the heat; but the fashion of having punkhás on the roof is gradually ousting that of sitting under-ground. The newer class of building is more commodious and well ventilated than the old, but its materials are generally inferior. As in the Punjab proper, the Muhammadans have large courtyards than the Hindús; the latter prefer high houses with many stories, and a number of small *kothís* or rooms in each. Muhammadan houses are generally surrounded by a high wall to ensure

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(e) Dwellings.

privacy for the women, and in both Hindú and Muhammadan houses the *baithak* or male portion of the house is kept separate from that reserved for females. Outsiders are received and entertained in the outer portion, but the female apartments can be entered by no males except those of the family. In a well-to-do establishment the receiving rooms are often well furnished according to European ideas, but this is seldom the case with the inner apartments. Both portions of the house are, as a rule, well kept; and in a Hindú house the most scrupulous cleanliness is observed in all things connected with the cooking.

In the villages the number of brick houses has increased considerably with the wealth of the people and in the Sidhnái circles they are comparatively common; but the ordinary agriculturists or artizan lives in a house with mud walls and a thatched roof. The houses are not, as a rule, clustered together in one village site as in the Central Punjab, but are scattered over the village land and grouped round the more important wells. Where there is a group of houses the drinking water of the village is not obtained from wells within the site, but from the nearest agricultural well. The houses in a hamlet or village are not built as closely together as in the Punjab, land being less valuable, and the tastes of the people all in favour of elbow-room. It is unusual to surround a courtyard with walls, and, if privacy is required, a screen of reed-thatch is all that is used. The houses themselves—especially those of the artizans—are usually kept pretty clean, but the courtyards are not attended to in this respect. The courtyard generally contains a tree or two, and the cattle are generally kept in separate byres (*bhána, dhára**). The village pond, which forms so marked a feature of Punjab villages, is here almost unknown. The house of a peasant consists of one room of a rectangular shape; the shorter pair of walls points up into a gable; the commoner classes of wood (karín or jál) are used for the roof tree; there are no windows and only one door; and in the middle of the floor is a hole, where in winter the fire is lit, round which the family clusters for warmth. In summer the zamíndárs, rich and poor, arm themselves with hand fans; and outside each house, especially in tracts near the river, it is common to find a' mannha ' or raised platform, on which the whole family, male and female, sleeps together at night.

The common word for a house in this district is ' jhugga. ' If it has a flat roof it is known as a ' makán, ' and if it is of two stories it is a ' mári. ' Any house with a roof of thatch is known as ' sálh, ' and a shelter without walls as ' chappri. '

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* A shed with mud walls is called a bhána; without walls, a dhára.

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(i) Dwellings.

The taste for European furniture has much developed during recent years and the majority of the well-to-do both in the city and among the richer zamíndárs, have chairs and tables after the European fashion, and use table cloths, plates, glasses, &c., for their meals. In the ordinary peasant's house the catalogue of furniture is not a large one, and there are very few of the fancy articles and ornaments that are found in Punjab villages. The bed—which is used of course as a chair also—is the most important article, and more care is taken of it than of the bed-clothing. The latter in summer consists either of nothing at all or of a two-anna palm mat (parchh, phúri, traddi) of the coarsest description; the more fastidious zamíndárs substituting a 'khes,' which is also used as a saddle-cloth. In the winter there is added to this the 'sawwar' (leph, khindi) or rough homespun cotton quilt, which takes the place of the ordinary city 'razái.' Besides the bed and its appurtenances, the country çottage contains a few reed baskets of various shapes, some mats and fans of date leaves, a cradle for the baby, and some spinning and churning apparatus for the women. There are also some large mud bins (kalhotás) for storing grain, and the cooking utensils of the family. Outside there will often be a swing. Almost always there is a 'gharwanji' or four-legged wooden stand for the earthen pots, and a 'nahila' or branched rack on which the pots are hung, face downwards. If the owner keeps fowls he has a little earthen fowl-house, known as 'khuddi,' and a 'tínga' or roosting pole in the immediate neighbourhood. The bhusa is also stored near the house in wattled stacks known as 'pallás.'

In all houses the cooking utensils form an important part of the equipment. In Hindú houses these are most commonly of brass; among Muhammadans, of copper or bell metal, those manufactured in Baháwalpur and Multán being preferred. Among the poorer classes and in the villages earthenware largely takes the place of metal in the case of Mussalmáns.

(t) Disposal of the dead and burial customs.

A Hindú child dying within six months of birth is buried beneath a tree and a small cup of water is placed by the grave. If a child of less than five years, but more than six months old dies it is thrown into the river, unless a river is far away. For persons above five years of age cremation is the rule. When an adult male or female is about to die he or she is taken off the bed, and laid on the ground already purfied with cow-dung, as death on a bed is supposed to be a bar to the peace of the departed soul. The corpse is washed, and if of a man, it is wrapped up in a white shroud while if of a woman it is swathed in a red shroud. A small quantity of Ganges water is sprinkled on it. It is then laid on a wooden bier and carried to the cremation

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(t) Disposal of the dead and burial customs.

ground on the shoulders of four men who are relieved at short intervals by other members of the burial procession. As the procession proceeds, the men repeat in chorus the following words:—"Ram Ram sat hai", "sat gurán dí mat hai" (Ram is truth: Truth is the teaching of the spiritual masters) or "Bolo Ram sada mukh jai" (Say from the mouth Victory to Rama). The bier is first carried on the shoulders of the deceased's sons, if any. They shave their heads, moustache and beard as a sign of mourning. The funeral procession stops at a short distance from the cremation ground and the bier is placed on the ground. The "ghara bhannun" (pitcher-breaking) ceremony is performed when the deceased's son, or failing him his nephew, walks round the bier thrice with an earthen pitcher from which he sprinkles water on the ground. At the end of the third round the pitcher is broken by dropping it on the ground towards the head of the deceased. The bier is then taken to the cremation ground and the body is burned on the funeral pyre. On the fourth day the bones are collected and placed in a small bag and a son, if any, takes them to Hardwár to be thrown into the Ganges. The remaining rites are performed on the 10th and 11th days when the 'dastárbandi' or succession ceremony takes place. On that evening the eldest son, and, failing him, the nearest heir, is presented with a turban by some leading members of the brotherhood as a mark of succession.

Among Muhammadans.

After death among Muhammadans, a man's clothes are removed by the 'mulla'; a woman's by the 'mulla's' wife; and the corpse is washed and scented and then wrapped in a winding sheet. Women are generally (from feelings of delicacy) put in a coffin of palm-wood; but men are not given a coffin. The body is laid on a charpoy and covered with as valuable clothes as can be spared, and a copy of the Qorán is also put with it. It is then carried out towards the cemetery and is halted at a convenient spot on the road, where Muhammadans who wish to do so present the dead man with so many readings of the Qorán; that is to say, transfer from themselves to the deceased the spiritual benefit of a whole or a part of the Qorán-reading which they have themselves undergone. When the funeral prayer has been said the bulk of the people disperse, the near relations only proceeding to the cemetery. After burial some wheat and salt are given in alms, and the 'mulla' recites the 'báng' or call to prayer. The mourners then proceed to the house of the chief mourner: rice and salt is brought out, and after the chief mourner has partaken the rest do the same. This is known as 'munh choli.' On the third day comes the 'kul khwáni'; that is to say, the whole of the Qorán is recited in presence of all the near relations by a number of men who undertake separate parts, all reciting

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at one time. This being completed the chief mourner sends presents of rice and meat or pulse to every one of the mourners and the *dastárbandi* ceremony, or formal recognition of the heir, is duly carried out. For forty days food is distributed daily: on Fridays the 'mulla' receives sweetmeats, and on the day of the *kul khwáni* the relations give presents. On the *chihlam* or fortieth day cooked food is distributed to the relations and 'mullas'; and the 'mullas' are similarly treated on the Moharram and Shab-i-Barát following. During the forty days the women collect for lamentation every Saturday and Tuesday evening.

The prospect of a well-attended funeral has its attractions in Multán as elsewhere, especially among the women; and there is a proverb which says: 'Sadar kár moí. Te ghíl te sattí'. (She died with pleasure in expectation of a fine funeral, and they dragged her body out and threw it away.) A death at evening has its disadvantages, as people are then about to go to bed and will not stay up to mourn: 'Sawin sanje de murde kún kera rosi' (If a man dies at evening, who will weep for him?) The bier is also introduced in proverbs as the emblem of human mortality: "Jiha takht jiha takhta" (The bier levels kings and beggars).

(*u*) Amusements and festivals.

The games among children have a family resemblance to those known in other parts of the world, and girls have their dolls (gudian). Girls also amuse themselves with tossing up five bits of broken pottery off the back of the hand and recovering them again in the palm (fitián), and they take each other's hands and whirl 'round the mulberry bush' (chak chingal). They are fond of swings (píngh). Boys play a kind of marbles (chidda) and also especially at night, a variety of hide-and-seek (akh di lukrí or lukkan-chappan). There is also a game, like fox and geese, which is played with bricks or potsherds on squares drawn with the finger in the dust: this game is known as 'The Lion and the Goat' (Shinh bakri). There is also tip-cat or gítí-dandá. Cricket and football are popular in the larger towns. Both boys and men are excited over kite-flying (guddí bází or patang bází), but not so much as in the Punjab. In the hot weather bathing is general, and except in the Ráwa nearly every male can swim. Men also amuse themselves, especially at fairs and festivals, by a kind of prisoners' base (pir kaudí or kaudí-kabaddí; another kind is known as doda), or by a slow dance with clapping of hands round a tom-tom (jhummar), or by playing flutes and singing songs. There is also a game known as 'tallíán' where one man presses his palm on the ground, and others try to pull away his hand from off the ground. At many of the fairs there is a rough kind of horse-racing (distance two to three hundred yards as a

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(u) Amusements and festivals.

rule), and at a few there is tent-pegging: but this latter is not a popular form of sport. A few of the bigger men go in for sport as sport, but their ideas of what is fair shooting and what ought not to be shot differ somewhat from those of Englishmen. Not a few of them get more amusement from having pigs netted, and then bated by dogs. In the towns there is a certain amount of cock and quail fighting; also ram-fights, which are said to be patronized mainly by dhobís, butchers, indigo-dyers, and so forth. Many of the idle and wealthier class, especially the Patháns, go in for pigeon flying (kabútar bází), the object being to join your flock with your adversary's and then to seduce as many as possible of your adversary's pigeons to your own roost. Wrestling by professionals for gate-money is also common, and the wrestling provided at the Sher Shah fair is said to be always good; wrestling is also carried on by young men throughout the district as a diversion of an evening, and some also exercise themselves with Indian clubs (munglián). In the city, chess (shatranj) and chaupat are common pastimes, and so are cards (tásh): there are of course numerous varieties of the latter, such as pískot (a four-handed game), rang kí bází (a three-handed game), and so forth.

The fairs held in the district are numerous, being mostly in connection with some shrine, and there are very few shrines of any importance to which some kind of fair is not attached. The guardians of the shrine generally receive some small offerings in cash or kind, but in most cases they also give out food, so that they retain little or no net income. In some cases the zamíndárs who own the land, or have influence in the neighbourhood, take a contribution either from the people at the fair or from the shopkeepers whom they allow to trade there. At some of the shrines the fair is a bathing fair (as at Ram Chautra, Ram Tírath, Suraj Kund, etc.); at others, as at Shahkot and Jágír Horián, the people have their children's hair cut: at others, as at Pír Ghaib in Halálwaja, the ailments of cattle are said to be cured. At Makhdúm Rashid the well, which is closed for the rest of the year, is opened, and the water, which has an aperient effect, is drunk by the people. At Jalálpur Pírwála devils are cast out of women. At Rappar, during the Moharram the people pass through two small doors in a small domed building, somewhat after the manner of the fair at Pákpattan; and the building is known as 'Bihisht'. Other fairs, too, have their own peculiarities: at Dáúd Jahánian's fair, for instance, in Miánpur, ulcers are cured, and at the Budha Sant fair in Dográna no flesh may be eaten.

Besides the fairs specially attached to shrines there are the ordinary seasonal fairs. The Baisákhi fair is celebrated

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with some circumstance at Rámpur near Multán and at Gwans near Mailsi, at Shahpur near Kahror, and at Paonta near Shujábád. The Dasehra or Ram Líla is observed in most large villages, and there are fine shows in Multán both in the cantonment and in the Dasehra ground near the Mandi Awa to the south-east of the city. There are fairs for the rainy season in Sáwan, and several full moon fairs, as well as the ordinary Diwáli and Holí. Among the Muhammadans there are great gatherings in large towns, and at centres of Shíism, during the Moharram for the carrying out of the táziás. There are also gatherings at both the Ids, and the prayers at the Idgáh in Multán are very numerously attended on the occasion of the Id-uz-Zuha.

The fairs are chiefly for amusement, and the amusement is in the form of swings, merry-go-rounds, prisoners' base, juggling, wrestling, etc. At some of the fairs there is horse-racing and tent-pegging; and at the bigger ones there is dancing by professional dancers. At almost every fair, also, there are booths, where ordinary pedlars' wares and cloth are for sale together with sweetmeats of various kinds. And at one or two of the gatherings there is some real buying and selling done among the people; as, for instance, at Budha Sant, where mules and donkeys find a ready sale, and at Rappar and Dhallun, where young camels from Bikánir and Baháwalpur can be bought.

(c) Honorary titles.

In connection with the tribal constitution of the district, it is of some interest to note the honorary titles of respect affixed by the people to the names of the more prominent men. The Báblás of Shujábád and some of the Aroras are spoken of as Chaudhri; Aroras of position, especially in the east of the district, are called Mehta; Brahmans are known as Pandit or Misr; traders from Shikárpur, etc., as Seth or Bhái and there are Khatri families in Multán which are addressed as Malik or Ráizáda.

Among Muhammadans the term Malik is applied to the chief men among the Khokhars, Vainses and some other clans. The Hirájs are called Mehr; the Marrals, Chaudhri; and the Aráins, Mullán. The Núns, Utheras and Jakkhars retain the old Hindú title of Rána and the Drigs, Lars, Samejas and Mohánáns the title of Jám. Patháns and Dáúdputrás are spoken of as Khán Sáheb and Syeds as Shah Sáheb. Syads are also called Pír, and the Bhutta family of Khairpur is addressed as Pírzáda. The title Nawáb is applied sometimes by the people to members of prominent Pathán families, such as the Khákwánís and Badozais. The title Makhdúm is applied to the actual guardians of the shrines of Bahawal Haqq, Sher Shah, Shah Usaf Gardezi, Sultan Ahmad Kattál and Musa Pák Shahíd, and it is sometimes extended to one or two of their immediate relations. The

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Village names.*

title is one of considerable honour and its use is jealously preserved by those who are traditionally authorized to enjoy it.

In a tract where the cultivation of new areas depended largely on personal enterprise, it is natural that the names of many villages should commemorate either the original founder or the tribe that first settled there. Of the first class are Muhammadpur, Miánpur, Serai Sidhu, Naurangábád, Basti Ratta, Khánpur, Todarpur, Kesarpur, Jalálábád and many others too numerous to mention. Among the second class are Kot Bhutta, Bela Panjuána, Sandiánwála, Khokhar, Lar, Labar, Bosan Lodhran, Rawáni, Kamun, Sandila, Vains, etc. But a personal name is not always associated with that of the founder, it may refer to a relation, to his spiritual teacher, to an agent, a jagirdár, or even a mortgagee. Occasionally, the name of an early tenant has survived, while the instances in which the tribe of the tenant has been used are sufficiently common to emphasise the fact that the success of a new settlement was dependent on the type of cultivator obtained. Baháwalpur Sukha records the names of both the founder and his son, but instances of this kind are rare and double names more often refer to the founder and his tribe. Of the latter are Sultánpur Hammar, Sáleh Maha, Sheikhpur Shujra and Miánpur Mahtam.

The rulers of the day have left their names in Dairápur, Sikandarábád, Gházipur, Akbarpur, Alamgir and Muzaffarábád. The memory of a saint is preserved in Pír Tannun, Mahdipur, Sher Shah, Makhdúm Rashid, Abu Saíd, Kotla Shah and many other villages. Alípur in the Shujábád tahsíl is named after the Caliph Ali, and Muhammadpur in Lodhrán after the Prophet. Religious influence is also apparent in such names as Dínpur, Murishdpur, Kádipur, Ram Kalli and Rámpur. That shops were formerly rare in rural areas is suggested by the occurrence of *hatti* (shop) as a distinctive affix in several village names. Rui-hatti, Matti-hatti, Gajju-hatti and Paunta (Panu-hatta) are instances of this kind. Many names represent some local peculiarity which may refer to the nature of the soil, the position of the village lands, a canal water-course, a special crop, a prominent tree or group of trees, the character of the village site, or a distinctive building. An instance of each kind is supplied by—

'Tattar' (barren land).
'Sírí' (a sailab tract).
'Nangni' (a winding water channel).
'Nilkot' (formerly noted for its indigo).
'Bohar' (after a bohar tree).

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*Compiled from information kindly supplied by Sir Edward Maclagan, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

Village names.

'Vanoi' (after a clump of van trees).

'Aroti' (a place of reed huts).

'Sakot' (the place with three forts).

More often, the peculiarity is emphasised by the use of a distinctive prefix or suffix of which the following are the most common:—

'mári' = a brick house.

'béla' = riverside jungle.

'bét' = the riverain.

'jhók' = a cluster of huts.

'kót', 'kótla', 'kótli', 'gárh', 'garhi', 'thul' = a fort.

'kund' or 'bahli' (bahl) = riverside jungle.

'dal', 'chhamb' = marsh.

'theh' or 'tibba' = mound.

'dhand budh' = old river bed.

'ara' = high land.

'binda' = island.

'déra' = a resting house for strangers.

'kótha' = house.

'ghát' = ferry.

'déh' = village.

'dhóra' = a depression especially in jungle estates.

'chauki' = Government post.

'thatta' = temporary hamlet.

'wahi' = canal water-course.

'wâhan' = cultivation.

Historical events or local incidents have had far less influence on names than might have been expected. Shitábgarh commemorates the rapid construction of a fort under the orders of Dewán Sáwan Mal, Zorkot the building of a stronghold by a son against his father's wishes, and Fattehbela is said to be the site of the defeat of a band of robbers. At Billíwála a traveller's cat is supposed to have fallen down a well and Kuranga may owe its name to a severe hail-storm that killed many sheep. Other instances of the same kind are rare.

The mahal of Multán was divided into six tarafs in Moghul times. The Rávi used to flow through Taraf Rávi; Taraf Daira was named after the hermitage (daira) of a faqir; Tarafs Mubarik, Ismail and Sidhu Hissam were named after their respective lambardars and Jumma Khalsa used to pay its revenue direct to Government.

CHAPTER I, C.
—
Population.

Further information regarding village names will be found in Appendix III.

Characteristics of the people.

Sir Edward Maclagan writing more than twenty years ago gave the following excellent description of the characteristics of the people:—

"The habits of the people of Multán differ in many respects from those of the inhabitants of the Central Punjab. The character of the people also has certain peculiarities, and it may be said generally that they are more self-centred and, at the same time, less alert and less industrious than the ordinary Punjábi; but these qualities are mixed with some strange inconsistencies, and they have also redeeming traits of which one should not lose sight.

"The Multáni peasant lives on a well and not in a large village, and he marries a neighbour and not a woman from a distant district. He never enlists, and sees nothing of any district but his own. He has therefore a distrust of strangers. The proverb says 'Safar-i-Multán tá ba Idgah' or 'The Multáni travels no further than the Idgah.' It is only with great difficulty that even the educated classes are persuaded to leave the district: a Government servant will often refuse a transfer in spite of great inducements in the way of promotion, and even the better class of zamíndárs are as bewildered and unhappy in Lahore as a Highlander of the eighteenth century in London To the ordinary peasant the effect of his isolated life is that his address is less pleasing and his demeanour more unsociable than that of a Punjábi agriculturist. He wants to be left alone; and though among friends he is cheerful enough, he lacks the real social instinct. He has little public spirit, and seldom looks at any one's interests but his own. The poorer zamíndár cares nothing for instance, about the assessment of his village, but is keenly interested in the revenue of his own holding. The richer men have no idea of spending money on works of public utility, and with one or two notable exceptions, there is scarcely a man in the district who has voluntarily spent a rupee on any public building or institution. As friends, too, the Multánís have a bad reputation: disinterestedness is said to be unknown and a variant of the proverb above quoted says 'Dost-i-Multán tá ba Idgah', which is as much as to say that a Multání friendship has a radius of about a mile.

"So, too, there is a pervading air of slackness about the inhabitants of this district. Both nature and man have been too strong for the Multání peasant. No one who has seen the cher labourers at work will say that the Multání is incapable of hard work, but there can be little doubt that he has a great disinclination for it. The prostrating effects of the fierce summer heats, and the absolute hopelessness of the agriculture in years when floods are scare, have broken the heart of the peasant, and the size of his holdings has taken away a great incentive of minute cultivation. The inhabitant of Multán, though capable of exertion for a time, is, as a rule, easily discouraged. His efforts are by fits and starts: long continued energy is unknown to him; and he has not the instinct of discipline which mark the Jat of the Central Punjáb. Though he is incapable of discipline (or rather perhaps because he is incapable of discipline) the Multání, having been since history began under the heel of one foreign conqueror or another, is peculiarly insensible to any display of authority which is not accompanied by force. A man, for instance, who is asked in an ordinary tone to show the road, will say he does not know it; but if addressed fiercely, will comply at once. A man who is reminded in the ordinary way that his revenue is due, will pay no attention; but if he is threatened with insult or imprisonment, will pay it with alacrity. This same want of stamina has rendered the peasant of the district a ready prey to unscrupulous officials: he believes stolidly that nothing can be done without a bribe, and he is

CHAPTER I, C.

Population.

Characteristics of the people.

ready to bribe any one to do anything, merely because it is the custom to do so and without any of the desire to obtain a *quid pro quo*, which characterizes the Jat of the Punjáb proper.

" With all these drawbacks the native of the district is not without many good points. He has generally a strong, tall, well-nourished figure, and he is good natured and easy going to a degree. He is in his own careless way exceedingly hospitable. In his speech he is frank and outspoken, and his religious practices, as a rule, steer fairly clear both of indifference and bigotry. If he had more knowledge of outlying districts, more confidence in himself, and less distrust of his rulers; he would be a very favourable specimen of mankind.

" Any sketch of the manners of the people would be incomplete without a reference to the virtues of hospitality and liberality, which enter so largely into the ideal standard of a good life among the inhabitants of the district. Among the Hindús there is naturally less hospitality than among the Muhammadans and their charity is more carefully regulated: but from any ordinary standpoint they, too, are extremely charitable. The hospitality of the Muhammadan, and his charity also, is on a more lavish and careless scale. The chief aim of the better class of zamíndár is to be known as 'bará fayyáz,' or 'mihmán-nawáz,' and the more religious among them are nearly always the more generous. Rulers of a lavish character have a very solid renown, and few will be remembered longer in the Sutlej tract than the 'Sakhí Baháwal Khan,' of Baháwalpur. At the same time this profuseness—this 'deredárí' as it is expressively called—has brought many careless zamíndárs to ruin, and the virtue is apt to be carried to excess. There are also, no doubt, many zamíndárs, whose professions of liberality are louder than their acts, and many with whom liberality goes much against the grain: but the existence of his virtue on so large a scale, and the large part which it plays in the people's standard of excellence, cannot be too carefully remembered."

This description is still true in all essentials, though the forces of progress have not left the Multání entirely untouched. Love of home and distrust of the unknown were shown during the War when unceasing efforts were necessary in order to induce the young men to enlist, while of those who did enter the Army the great majority left it on the first opportunity though not a few had proved themselves good soldiers. On the other hand, the spread of education, the improvement in communications and the gradual approach of perennial canal irrigation have undoubtedly had an effect on the outlook even of the peasantry. The canal colonies have created new standards of comfort, and, with results not entirely favourable to the prosperity of the district, have taught the ordinary cultivator to look further afield than his own well. The Multání peasant is still incapable of sustained effort; but he is less conservative than formerly, and it is generally admitted that his methods of cultivation, though still inefficient, are better than they were. While lethargy and indifference are the most characteristic traits of the people, individual enterprise is by no means rare. Among the Hindús and especially among the capitalists, it is general, and it is owing partly to their example that many large Muhammadans owners now take a keen and intelligent interest in their estates.

CHAPTER II.

ECONOMIC.

SECTION A.—AGRICULTURE.

CHAPTER II, A.

Agriculture.

(a) General conditions.

Areas.—The area of the district is divided as follows:—

Cultivated	... ...	2,235 square miles.
Uncultivable Waste	...	2,882 square miles.
Government forests (reserved)	...	1,341 square miles.
Other Uncultivable Waste	...	495 square miles.

In the Khánewál tahsíl the cultivated area is classified as follows:—

Detail.	Cultivated area.	Chábi.	Chabi-Nahri.	Nahri.	Cháhi-Sailáb.	Abi.	Sailáb.	Báráni.
Area in acres ...	258,509	1,604	269	245,317	1,739	224	8,089	1,267
Percentage to cultivated area.	100	1	...	95	1	...	8	...

In the other five tahsíls the matured areas rather than the recorded areas by soils furnish a guide to the character of the cultivation, and in the statement below a comparison is given of the conditions at the 3rd and 4th Settlements respectively:—

Class of crops,		Cháhi.	Cháhi-Nahri.	Nahri.	Cháhi-Sailáb.	Abi.	Sailáb.	Báráni.	Total.
Percentage to whole area cropped.	At 3rd Settlement.	12	25	42	4	1	15	1	100
	At 4th Settlement.	11	27	36	3	1	12	...	100

The whole district is one of comparatively recent alluvial formation, and the composition of the soil is, within certain limits, of a very uniform character. Everywhere there is sand at a greater or less distance from the surface, and the main soils are distinguished from each other according to the greater or less admixture of the clay with the sand.

CHAPTER II, A. Agriculture. Soils.

The sandiest soil of all is known as *retli*, and the soil which consists of a thin layer of alluvion above a sandy substratum is called *dramman*. The ordinary light loam prevalent in the greater part of the district is the *gas;* a good average soil requiring a fair amount of irrigation, but capable of bearing most of the ordinary crops. *Gas* which grows drab grass or harmal is not as good as that which grows jál or karíl bushes; and this, again, is inferior to that which grows the jand. A somewhat richer *gas* is known as *phambi*, and the best soil of all is the *milk*, a reddish soil of a soft texture, with very little sand and retentive of moisture.

The ordinary hard clay soils are known as *mul* or *pakki zamín*. Harder than these and more difficult of cultivation are the soils known as *kappar* and *rappar*. Both these terms are used by zamíndárs for very hard soils, in which, as a rule, nothing but rice or sawánk will grow; they often distinguish between the two soils, but the points of distinction as given by different zamíndárs do not always agree; and all that can be said is, that on the whole *rappar* is somewhat better and more culturable than *kappar*, which is almost, if not entirely, unculturable.

Kallar, *kallar shor* and *kalaráchhi* are all varieties of the saline soils so well known in other districts of the province. The surface of the soil is generally a soft snowy white, but this superficial defect does not necessarily imply any radical impracticability in the soil ; on the contrary, some of the best cultivation in the district round Sher Shah and elsewhere is in immediate proximity to the *shor*. So long no doubt, as the efflorescence remains the land is unculturable, but this can be removed by irrigation or by digging it away. This ordinary shor is known as ' chitta shor '; but there is another variety known as 'kála shor,' which presents a black, clammy looking appearance, and which it is practically impossible to eradicate: it is especially prevalent in the tract near Gawen in Shujábád. The general attitude of the agriculturist towards kallar soils is shown by the proverb: 'Bhanne de pichhon múl na bhajjín; kallar bíj na hári' (Do not run after a man who is running away; and do not waste your seed on kallar land.)

In the riverain tracts one finds special names attached to the soils usually found in places subject to flood. The sticky, uneven soil caused by the long standing of water in places where new alluvial matter has been deposited is known as *gap daryai*. When it dries and cracks into huge blocks with miniature crevasses between them it is known as *treranwalí*. There is also a special form of injury caused by excessive percolation from the river: this is known as *soman*, and it has the effect of waterlogging the soil and stunting the growth of the crops.

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Agriculture.

Soils.

So, too, in the Bár or Ráwa areas, there are special names applied to particular tracts or soils. Good soil, if supplied with water, is spoken of as 'Ráwa soháwa,' and, if deprived of water, as 'Ráwa rund': the epithets being expressive of the 'married' or 'widowed' state of the tract; the good, moist soil along the old Biás goes by the name of the 'bár viyáh', and the Mailsi bár between the Biás and Sutlej is spooken of as the 'bár-báráni' tract.

Means of irrigation.

When all is said, however, that can be said regarding the differences of soils, it remains that in a district like Multán all these distinctions fade into very little as compared with the distinction between irrigated and unirrigated land, and the composition of the soil has much less to do with the produce than the amount and character of the irrigation received. The soil has on this account been always classed in the Government records according to the method of irrigation, the classification being as follows:—

Irrigated by wells alone	...	Cháhi.
Irrigated by canals and wells	...	Cháhi-Nahri.
Irrigated by canals alone and by flow		Nahri.
Irrigated by canals alone but by lift		Jhalári.
Irrigated by wells assisted by lift irrigation from canals	...	Cháhi-Jhalári.
Subject to river floods	...	Sailáb.
Well lands assisted by river floods...		Cháhi-Sailáb.
Land irrigated by direct lift from rivers, ponds, etc.	...	Abi.
Dependent on rainfall	...	Báráni.

(b) System of cultivation.

Well cultivation.

The wells in the greater part of the district are unused during the summer months, the areas which they serve being in those months as far as possible irrigated by canal water or submerged by river floods; and the well cattle are thus during those months available for ploughing. The land which is cultivated for the rabi is during the latter part of the summer soaked as much as possible with water from canals or floods, and when the rabi has been ploughed and sown the effects of this soaking in some tracts and in good years suffice to bring the crop to maturity, especially if aided by a little winter rain. As a rule, however, the crop requires some further irrigation, and it is the function of the wells to supply to these winter crops the further irrigation that they need. The people, therefore, are busy all the winter, and especially towards the end of the winter months, in doing all they can to supply the necessary well water to each part of their holdings in succession. The months when the wells are working are in some ways the busiest months; and

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Agriculture.

there is a saying 'Jinhán jutte khúh, unhán de sukh na sutte ruh' (One whose well is working gets no peace or sleep).

Well cultivation.

Where the wells are unaided either by canals or sailáb —as in large parts of the central or Ráwa tracts—the system of well cultivation has special peculiarities. The wells are, it is true, often abandoned there also in the summer, owing to the intense strain on the cattle which the working of the wells in the blazing heat of these unsheltered tracts entails, but generally a little jowár and cotton is sown to keep things going ; and as the autumn begins the well is worked to aid the rabi ploughings. The wheat sowing continues for a longer period on the unaided wells than on the aided wells. Each portion of ground is moistened, ploughed and sown in turn, whereas on the aided wells the whole area must be ploughed and sown before the effects of autumn drenching have passed off. These unaided wells are generally deeper than the others and they require a superior breed of cattle to work them ; and tenants for such wells are less easy to procure than for others. On the other hand, the areas attached to them are large, the harvests are so alternated that there is no fear of exhaustion and the produce per acre is often surprisingly good.

Canal cultivation.

In the Khánewál tahsíl, canal cultivation is entirely dependent on supplies from the Lower Bári Doáb Canal and the cropping and methods of cultivation follow closely those adopted on other perennial canals of the province. It is in the other five tahsíls, which are dependent on the Sidhnai and the inundation canals, that the characteristic features of the local system of cultivation are found and it is to these that the following description applies. The statement given at the beginning of this chapter shows how the improvement of the canals and the increase in the number of wells between the third and fourth Settlements have resulted in a large increase, firstly, in the area cropped and, secondly, in the more secure forms of cropping. The proportion of canal-aided crops to the total area matured increased from 67 per cent. to 73 per cent., while the similar figures for cháhi-nahri crops show an increase of 12 per cent. from 25 to 37 per cent. These statistics epitomise a great development of resources.

The inundation canals take their rise in cuttings made in the banks of the rivers, and flow only when there is sufficient flood-water to pass over the bed-level of these openings; that is to say, generally speaking, from the end of April to October. When the rivers are in full flood from June to August there is always plenty of water in the canals, and the difficulty is to arrange by means of regulators and escapes for the harmless disposal of superfluous water. It is at the beginning and end of the season, when the rivers are rising

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Agriculture.

Canal cultivation.

or falling, that the conditions of irrigation become critical. The success of the kharíf crops does not depend on the volume of water received by them during the season, but upon the length of time during which supplies can be assured ; and the success of the rabi sowings depends not on the amount of water available during the summer, but on the amount, if any, available at the end of the season. It is, therefore, in respect of its position towards these early and late waterings that the chief differentiation between village and village, or between holding and holding, consists. A water-course with a good slope and a head whose level is well below the flood-level of the canal will run earlier and longer than others; and the village supplied by it will, *cæteris paribus* be better off than others. So, too, if a village is dependent for its kharíf on indigo, a late rise in the river will ruin its harvest, or, if it depends on cotton, an early fall will seriously damage it. Some villages are so situated that they are sure of supplies for the whole of their rabi sowings ; others are thankful if they can sow any of their wheat at all without using their wells. Some holdings are assured of flow throughout the summer, and such are readily taken up by tenants. Other holdings have to eke out their supplies by working jhalárs in the earlier and later months, and on such the tenants look askance. Some water-courses, owned by rich men, are fully cleared in the winter so as to run throughout the summer ; others, owned by the poorer or less united zamíndárs, are not cleared, or are cleared imperfectly; so that they run in flood time only or silt up altogether.

A glance at the tables of crop returns will generally indicate pretty clearly the position of a village in respect of canal irrigation. The choicest class of village is that in which the whole kharíf crop is nahri flow, and the whole rabi is cháhi-nahri, that is to say, in which the canal supply in the hot months is so continuous and assured that the wells need not be used either for sowing or maturing the kharíf, and in which the number of wells is amply sufficient to protect and to mature in the winter the crops which have been sown by the aid of canal water in the autumn. The more a village deviates from this standard the less satisfactory is its position. A village will sometimes have some pure nahri gram and peas in the rabi, especially if there be much rice land on which these crops can be sown without further watering, and such a village is not necessarily inferior to the best ; but if there be any considerable amount of nahri wheat, the wells are clearly insufficient and the outturn will be inferior. If there is much pure cháhi cultivation in the rabi, or if any part of the kharíf is cháhi-nahri, the village has obviously received an inadequate supply of canal water, or portions of it must be too high to be properly commanded. Worse still is the village which has any pure cháhi cultivation in the

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Agriculture.

Canal cultivation.

kharíf, for with canals in the immediate neighbourhood a tenant requires great inducements to work a well in the summer. And in each class of village things are made worse if the canal irrigation is by lift and not by flow: for the tenant objects to the 'lote ká páni' on the canal, almost as much as he objects to it in the case of a well. If the village is near the head of a canal, its irrigation will be mainly dependent on lift; if at the tail, the water runs short when supplies in the canal are low. It is to considerations such as these just noticed that the native of this district addresses himself in estimating the value of a holding, far more than to considerations of soil; but the poorer a village or holding may be as regards irrigation, the more important does difference of soil become. When canal water is abundant, it matters little whether the ground be 'thirsty' or 'cold', but the more the crop is dependent on wells, the more does it concern the cultivator to have a soil which retains the little moisture he can from time to time supply.

In the normal village in the normal year the cultivator looks for the arrival of the canal water about the end of April. If he wishes to grow indigo on his holding he at once floods his lands in order to plough and sow for that crop. If cotton is to be grown, its cultivation has to be undertaken with little delay, and the sowings are generally over by the middle of June. If rice is cultivated, the seedlings are transplanted about the end of the same month. The kharíf jowár is sown in July, the bájra follows shortly, and then the til. All these crops are sown and grown with canal water only; the indigo and rice are cut before the canals cease to flow; and the cultivator will think himself hardly used if he is unable to use the canal for the final watering of the others. While the water is still in flood, he begins the 'rauni' or preliminary waterings for the rabi crops; and the more waterings and ploughings he can give to his wheat the better chance he has of a good outturn. Before the canals subside, he puts in his peas, turnips and gram, and towards the end of October, shortly after the canals have ceased to run, the wheat sowings commence. The turnips and wheat will receive some three or four waterings from the well during the winter, and the others will get such water as can be spared. From December onwards the turnips are taken up for cattle, and with the spring the peas begin to be similarly utilized. Then the gram is harvested, and the operations of the year culminate finally with the wheat cuttings in April.

On the Sidhnai canal the circumstances, though similar, differ in some respects. The agriculturist on that canal generally counts on the canal beginning to flow in March. If supplies are scanty, they are used to save the nahri wheat;

CHAPTER II. A.

Agriculture.

Canal-cultivation.

if, however, an adequate amount of water is available, it is employed to help in the cotton ploughing, and to irrigate the vegetables and early chína of the zaid rabi. By the end of April he may be pretty certain of regular supplies, and he then begins his kharíf sowings, or if any portion of his land is kappar he will try to lay down some rice. As soon as supplies are assured he ceases to work his well (if he has one), and it is quite exceptional for any well water to be used for the kharíf harvest. Not only are rice, indigo and til grown on purely nahri lands, but cotton, chari, jowár and chína are also almost entirely grown without well water. In August and September the cultivator puts down the late chína and sathri which the autumn flowing of this canal allows him to interpose between the kharíf and the rabi. Then as the chances of supplies failing increase he hastens to sow his turnips and to plough for the wheat. The area which he puts under wheat depends almost entirely on the amount of water available during the autumn months ; if supplies cease early in October the area will be comparatively small, but if supplies continue more and more land is brought under the plough, the maximum being reached (except as regards well areas) when supplies last on to the middle of December. As a rule, however, the zamíndár cannot look for water after the first few days of November, and all cultivation thereafter is dependent on wells. If rain fails during the winter the zamíndár who has no well begins to feel the want of it ; and if the canal does not begin flowing till late the nahri wheat harvest runs great risk of destruction. With a well in use judicious waterings are bestowed on the turnips and wheat within reach; so that these crops are duly saved and their outturn promoted, but should the canal run all through the winter there is every temptation to leave the well alone and to trust entirely to canal irrigation. The cháhi-nahri irrigation of the rabí in fact varies pretty nearly in inverse proportion to the duration of the winter supplies in the canal.

The critical time with the Sidhnai agriculturist is the period when the supplies are short. If all the rájbahas cannot be fed at once, they run in turns, and everything depends on the period elapsing between two supplies thus meted out to one rájbaha. Both in spring and in autumn there are crops to sow and crops to mature, and the zamíndár is often in a strait, when water is scarce, as to whether his scanty supply shall be used for sowing or maturing; and bad judgment or bad luck in this respect may have serious consequences.

Sailáb cultivation.

The character of the floods on the three different rivers—the Rávi, Chenáb and Sutlej—has been described in Chapter I above ; and the cultivation naturally is affected by the character of the flooding in each case.

CHAPTER II, A.

Agriculture.

Sailáb cultivation

The Rávi riverain for the first ten miles from the district border is a thin strip of country, mostly covered with sand and small tamarisk scrub; it is bounded, as a rule, on either side by a bank, which displays at times a solitary jhalár, and at times the gaping mouth of some disused canal cut. At places the bank shelves away, and here, especially if the river is on the turn, a little sailáb may flow inland and give rise to a few acres of cultivation. Occasionally, too, there is an old river branch which penetrates the bank and rejoins the main river below; and through this branch the flood waters may flow in summer, and on its bed some gram or wheat crops may be grown in winter. As it approaches Tulamba, the riverain widens out and the sailáb improves; but even here the tract which is sure of inundation is comparatively small, and large areas slope up on either side which can only hope occasionally to be flooded. Outside the land directly reached by the floods there lies on either side of the river a higher tract which looks for sustenance to the numerous river-cuts made by the zamindárs. A large part of the area recorded in our papers as sailáb in this riverain is land which receives the floods in this indirect manner. The wells, lying as they do for the most part in the higher tracts, have been built in the expectation of helping this indirect inundation; not a few, also, have been made in positions where direct flooding is received, but scarcely one has been constructed with the intention that it should subsist on its own resources. When floods begin to fail, the wells are for a time kept up in the hope of better things to come: then as this hope is disappointed the inferior wells drop out of use, and their owners migrate elsewhere; better wells and those in the hands of stronger men last on until the attractions of the Lower Bári Doáb Colony prove too strong for the tenants.

On the Chenáb there are, roughly speaking, three classes of riverain cultivation. Immediately adjoining the river is the low land on to which the river is almost certain to overflow every year; the soil here is exceedingly variable not only from place to place, but also from year to year; and the fine rich river-bed wheat soil of this year may in a year or two be reduced to mere sand or swept away altogether. Above this lower area and divided from it by a rise of level more or less well defined is the tract of secondary sailáb, which, as a rule, the high floods only penetrate, and where but little silt is deposited; the soil in this tract is less liable to violent change, but the area inundated fluctuates greatly from year to year. When the floods come down in June and July, their tendency is to spread vaguely inland as far as the surface levels will permit, and (especially in the southern corner of the district) to penetrate by creeks and natural

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Agriculture.

Sailáb cultivation.

depressions to villages far distant from the river. This tendency to spread inland, having in many cases led to widespread destruction of crops and other property, has in the Multán tahsíl, and in the northern part of Shujábád, been artificially checked by a series of embankments ; but the areas immediately within these embankments, though protected from direct flooding, are often subject to indirect influence from the river by means of percolation, and in such areas is found a kind of cultivation which may be classed as a tertiary form of sailáb. This again exhibits itself in two forms which are found not only within the embankments, but also outside them in lands to which the actual flooding does not reach. In the north of Multán on the one hand, where the soil is favourable, the cropping on lands reached by percolation is as rich as that of the flooded areas, and being much safer is much sought after. On the other hand, in the south of Multán and north of Shujábád, where the soil is worse and more tainted with salts, the water oozes freely through the earth, and in the summer months occasionally stands so deep and so long on the canal commanded area as to retard the cultivation of the rabi and to prevent or seriously injure that of the kharif. This oozing of water is known as somán, and it forms the subject of much complaint; but complaints are equally loud when owing to a change of the course of the river, or for some other reason, it ceases altogether and the land is left without moisture. The general result, however, in the villages affected has been the substitution of rabi crops for kharíf, and of less valuable crops for the more valuable. A favourable flood season is one that begins early in June and ends early in August. If the floods go down in time, the higher lands available are sown with til, and the lower with másh; but the floods are more powerful and of longer duration in the south than in the north, and the proportion of kharíf cropping decreases markedly as one goes further south. The general riverain cultivation in the tahsíls of Multán and Shujábád begins in September, when the peas, masar, methra and gram are put into the ground, to be followed in October by the wheat. The wheat is the main staple of the river lands, and all the energies of the zamíndárs, especially in the extreme south, are directed towards its successful cultivation. Manure, however, is seldom used ; and although the sailáb cropping is particularly impeded by noxious weeds, weeding is practically unknown. There is, moreover, little or no attempt at rotation, and the broad wheat lands of southern Shujábád have borne the same crop year after year ever since they were reclaimed from jungle. Of the wells which are dotted about the landward portions of the sailáb area very few are used for the production of an autumn crop ; for if the floods reach the well area in the summer, the standing water, will, as a rule, prevent the kharíf ploughing : and if the floods in any year fail to

CHAPTER II, A

Agriculture.

Sailáb cultivation.

reach the well, the soil is generally too dry and too light to make unaided kharíf watering profitable. The main function of the wells is to mature the wheat and to ensure the supply of water to this crop when the moisture introduced by the summer flood begins to disappear. The sailáb wells are shallower: their cylinders, as a rule, are narrower; and the number of cattle required for working them is smaller than in the canal tracts. Being to a great extent deserted in the summer months, they are very often devoid of the usual accessories—the trees and the adjoining homestead—of the upland wells; the people and their cattle live less upon their wells than elsewhere: and are often congregated in high plots of ground in groups of thatch-roofed byres and cottages, sometimes surrounded by a small embankment, and sometimes half hidden among clumps of palm-trees. As autumn comes on many of the cultivators move out to their fields and live for the winter in rough wattled sheds, which they run up alongside of their cultivation.

On the Sutlej there is comparatively little cháhi-sailáb cultivation ; the river seldom penetrates beyond the high bank, and in the tract below the high bank there are very few wells. The high bank, at the same time, limits the influence of the river in the way of percolation. The river floods come down in July and August. If the floods are strong, they work up to the high bank or beyond it ; if weak, they leave large stretches untouched even on the lower levels. As a rule, the water stands too late in all but the higher parts of the riverain lands to allow of any kharíf being cultivated, but occasionally a little til or jowár is sown in July in the immediate neighbourhood of the water. The main agricultural operations, however, begin in the latter part of September, when the floods have subsided. For wheat the zamíndár will plough twice ; for the other crops, such as peas, or grain, or masur, or methra, he contents himself with a single ploughing, or at times dispenses with ploughing altogether. In new land he will for a year or two grow the inferior crops, and will then proceed to grow wheat. As the spring advances numbers of cattle migrate from the higher tracts to graze in the moister river lands and to feed upon the peas and other fodder crops which their owners purchase for them. In April comes the wheat harvest: the cattle are then let loose among the stubble, and by the middle or end of June, before the floods begin to rise, the grain heaps are removed to the higher and more secure grounds; the cattle and the cultivators follow, leaving the temporary sheds in which they have spent the winter ; and the fields are abandoned once more to the mercy of the river.

Jhalárs.

Irrigation from an open surface of water by means of the Persian wheel or jhalár is found both on the rivers and on the canals. The jhalárs are of several kinds. The *oral* or

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Agriculture.

Jhalárs.

bahar badi is a small contrivance, having a few pots only, but of a large size; it is worked by one bullock only, and is the common form in use round the city of Multán. The *tangan* or *utangan* is used when the water is at a medium distance, and the wheel of a tangan contains about fifty to sixty pots. The *beghar* or double jhalár is used when the distance from the water is very great, one wheel conveying the water to an intermediate reservoir into which the second wheel plays. A *jung* or *do charkhi jhalár* is one in which there are two wheels playing into the same reservoir.

On the rivers the jhalárs are only employed where the banks are not liable to erosion, and consequently they are uncommon on the Chenáb. They are most frequently found on the Sutlej and on the Sidhnai reach of the Rávi, and the cultivation which they irrigate is entered in the revenue records as 'abi.' Sometimes water is lifted out of ponds or depressions in the same way, and this also is classed as 'abi.'

Jhalár cultivation.

In the canal irrigated tracts the jhalárs are found occasionally on the canals themselves but more often on the water-courses taking out of them. They are used with two objects, *viz.*, either to irrigate lands on to which canal cultivation cannot flow, or to prolong the period of irrigation in cases when the full supplies of the canal or water-courses reach the land but not the lower supplies received at the beginning and end of the season. In this latter case they serve as an intermediary between the canal flow irrigation of the summer and the well irrigation of the winter. The presence of a jhalár generally indicates a difficulty in irrigation, and rent rates paid on jhalár lands are usually less than on flow lands; but of course in the second of the two sets of circumstances above mentioned, *viz.*, in lands fairly well commanded by flow, a holding that has a jhalár has a distinct advantage over one which has not.

Báráni cultivation.

Rain cultivation is of no importance, except in the Mailsi tahsíl, where in years of good rainfall a considerable amount of scattered cultivation is carried on, chiefly in the depressions (dhorás or toás) found in the Government waste. This cropping is both kharíf and rabi, but for the most part the latter. The rains generally come too late for much kharíf cropping other than til, but they admit of considerable wheat sowings; and the crop once having been sown, reliance is placed on the extraordinary moisture of the soil of these depressions and on the possibility of winter rains to bring the crop to maturity.

Ploughing.

There is only one local description of plough in use in the district, though ploughs are made heavy or light to suit different soils. It is constructed, generally of kikar wood, by the village carpenter, the phála or share being supplied

CHAPTER II, A

Agriculture.

Ploughing.

by the blacksmith. The fields are divided into portions by preliminary lines, and in turning up the intervening space the plough always turns in narrowing circles from right to left. The act of ploughing is not looked on with much respect, and there is a proverb which says, 'Halán dá ke wahāwan hai? Picchon lagá jáwan hai' (What does ploughing consist of? Merely walking behind the plough). The task of ploughing, which in most districts is entrusted to grown-up men, is here largely left to boys and young lads. Before ploughing the land has always to be moistened, and the kharíf ploughings are often much delayed when the canals fail to run early. It is very common for neighbouring tenants to join their resources for ploughing, and several pairs (sometimes as many as 8 or 9 pairs) of bullocks follow one another, ploughing each a furrow inside the one in front. Male buffaloes are sometimes seen in the yoke, especially in the Chenáb tahsíls, and camels are sometimes employed for ploughing in the *bár* in Mailsi. Some crops can occasionally be grown without ploughing, such as gram on suitable depressions by the river, or indigo on the stubble of wheat. Some receive ploughings after the seed is sown as well as before, such as wheat, in lands where it is sown broadcast; and some, such as cotton, are occasionally ploughed between the plants to get rid of weeds. In the Lower Bari Doab Colony and to a less extent elsewhere improved ploughs recommended by the Agricultural Department are used.

Sowing.

The grain used for sowing generally comes from the previous year's crop, or if that is exhausted, it is taken on loan from the money-lenders. Very often the landlord lends the seed to the tenant, against the harvest, without interest; but in cases where the landlord is also a money-lender, he lends the seed on heavy interest, seldom less than 25 per cent. Some crops, such as indigo and turnips, are made use of before they seed, and for these a special area is set aside to mature to seed. There is not usually much care taken about the selection of grain for seed; but in some tracts, more especially among the Aráíns round Jalla in Lodhrán, wheat seed of a particularly good description is available for purchase. In the colonies the types of cotton and wheat seed provided by the Agricultural Department are in great demand and the good results there obtained are having an educative effect in other parts of the district.

When the surface of the ground has been recently moistened, as is the case in most of the kharíf crops and in that of those rabi crops which are ploughed for with the aid of well water, the sowing is usually done broadcast (chhatt). If, however, some time has elapsed between the watering and the sowing, the seed is put in by drill (náli); and this is the common practice on the sailáb lands. When the seed is small it is sometimes mixed with earth before it is sown;

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Agriculture.

Sowing.

and cotton seeds (pewe) are smeared with cowdung and dried before being sown. Sugarcane is grown from seed canes; and some crops, such as rice, tobacco and onions, are first raised in nurseries (paníri), and afterwards transplanted.

Rolling and levelling.

After ploughing, the land is usually smoothed down by means of a heavy wooden roller (mehra). The roller is required for the double purpose of breaking the clods and of keeping in the moisture (wattar) which otherwise evaporates. Where the clods have already been broken, and it is desired merely to smooth the soil, a lighter variety of roller known as the ghíhal, is also in use, and sometimes a couple of ploughs lashed together serve the same purpose.

Where the land is new, or where cultivation is being extended the land requires levelling by the removal of earth from one place to another. This operation is knownas ' ken kashi ', as it is done with the aid of an instrument called a ' ken, ' which is a screen of wattles with a rake at the bottom. It is pulled by bullocks, and guided by a man in much the same way as a plough. The process of ' ken kashi ' is also employed to remove earth from one part of a field to another, so as to get a fresh stock of soil and so improve the production of the field.

When canal water is given to the fields before ploughing (rauni), it is not usual to have any partitions made in the field, except on the Sidhnai. When, however, the canal water is applied after the seed has been sown, and when well water is applied, whether before or after sowing, it is usual to make *kiárís* or compartments in the field, and this is done by banking up the earth to the height of about six inches with the aid of a jandra or large wooden rake.

Weeding.

All crops, especially in the sailáb and moister canal soils, are liable to be troubled with weeds. Such are the uthpairara, a common weed with a fan-shaped leaf, which is supposed to resemble a camel's foot; rari, a vetch-like creeping plant which grows among the rabi crops; pápra, a small plant about a foot high, with purple flowers; vanveri, which is like a small convolvulus; chiratta, like a dandelion; the bhaira, with a lilac-coloured bell-like flower; and the harmal, with a white flower, which comes out in March. There are also the bhúí, with its yellow bunches of blossom; the jowán, with its purple cruciform flower; the bughát, with its white bells: the bhuenphor, with its waxy unwholesome looking flowers; the leh, kander and lút, which are like thistles; the juság, the jaudal (wild oats), and many others which are collectively spoken of as ' gandí bútí. ' Weeding (godi or chokí) is done with a spud (ramba), but, accept in small fields of superior crops (tobacco, sugar and vegetables) and near wells, it is unusual for any attention to be paid to the weeding of the crops.

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Agriculture.

Manure.

Sailáb and pure nahri lands seldom receive manure, which is confined as a rule, to crops round the wells. Special crops, like tobacco, vegetables and sugarcane, are always manured and turnips nearly always get some manure. Owing to the plentifulness of the wood supply, it is less necessary than in the Central Punjab to sacrifice the cattle dung as fuel, and owing to the scattered character of the farmsteads it is easier to get the manure on to the ground ; so that, on the whole, the crops of this district receive a fair share of manure compared with those of many other districts. The manures employed are of various kinds. First there is the ordinary cattle manure, the whole of which goes on to the land: while it is on the well it is called páh, and when it is put on the land it is known as kallur or áhl. Then there are the indigo stalks (wal), which form excellent manure, especially for wheat fields. The droppings of goats and sheep (mengan) are also much prized, especially for tobacco, and the owners of flocks are induced to place their animals near wells in return for special payment, or for leave to graze them on the kikar loppings. In some tracts camels are in the same way stationed near wells, and their dung is valuable: it is a powerful manure, but it is said to render the land saline, and much water is required to counteract this effect. The owner of a local shrine, if also a landowner, gets a good deal of camels' dung for nothing, as it is usual for camel owners to locate their cattle for a night (generally Thursday night) round the shrine of some saint in order to protect them from illness. Another useful manure is the soft soil found at the roots of jál trees, and a manure very commonly used is the *at* or silt of canals and water-courses. The zamíndárs, indeed, say that to make land fertile three things are needed: 'yá phatte yá satte yá atte ;' that is to say, 'ploughing, or fallowing, or manuring with silt.' Ashes are sometimes used for seed beds. Some zamíndárs scatter pulverized manure over the young crops in Mágh (January-February); and thus have a saying: 'Poh na wattrí, Máh na kallri, na hákimán vandde, na sáinán phallre' (If you do not irrigate in Poh, or manure in Mágh, there will be no share for the Government and no rent for the owners). In the neighbourhood of Multán the sewage and street sweepings are also very fully utilized, and the sale of these brings in a large sum of money to the municipality and cantonments. Almost every cultivator within a radius of two or three miles from the city has a bullock (pothi) specially set apart for the purpose of being sent in daily (from the nearest wells twice daily) to fetch the manure required.

Watching.

Jowár and bájra need to be watched during the day for a month or two ; when the grain is ripening, in order to keep off the birds. The watchman sits on a high platform, called *mannha*, which is raised on four stakes some ten or twelve

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Agriculture.
Watching.

feet from the ground: seated on this eminence he slings pellets from a 'khábáni' or cracks a rope (trat), or merely emits howls. Fruit trees need to be watched in the fruiting season in much the same way as jowár; the chief destroyers of the fruit being parrots. Scarecrows are sometimes put up to keep off birds: these often take the shape of waving stalks of sarkana. In the Rawa precautions are taken against the depredations of chinkára, either (*i*) by putting up scarecrows—sticks with clothes on them—or a row of sarkana stalks; or (*ii*) by putting up sticks and connecting them with ropes along the side of the field from which the deer come; or (*iii*) by making holes in the ground and sitting in them at night with a gun. The chinkára chiefly attack the turnips and young wheat. Jackals and foxes also do damage, and are kept off by putting down some dry karil stalks along the side of the field which they frequent. Pig also commit depredations along the river, and it is necessary in some sailáb lands to watch the wheat, when ripening, against pigs both by day and night.

Reaping.

Cotton and pepper are picked by hand, but all other crops are reaped with the dátri or small sickle. The work of reaping (kapi) is done in a squatting position, and the crops are cut near the roots: in the case of bájra, however, the heads alone are cut off (lápar), because the stalks are not stored for fodder. The tenant does a certain amount of the reaping, but for several crops, especially those of which a large area has to be cut within a short period of time, outside reapers (láwas or laihárs) are employed, and these men get from three to five sheaves in every hundred, the former rate being the more common and being general if the reaper is allowed to select the sheaves himself. The ordinary láwa cuts about two kanáls of wheat in the day, but sometimes men are found who can get through much more than this. The cotton is picked by women who proceed to the work in large bands, and who receive about one-eighth of the produce as their hire: the cotton (phutti) is not cleared from the husk (sangli) of the pods (dehnu) as it is picked, but the pods are taken to a corner of the field and the cotton picked out of them there.

Threshing.

Corn, when reaped, is gathered into stacks, which are afterwards taken to a hard, clean piece of ground (pir), where the threshing (gáh) takes place. There are two kinds of threshing, known as 'munniwála gáh' and 'pharsáwála gáh.' If the amount to be threshed is not very large, a stake (munni) is fixed in the middle, the crop is laid in a circle round it, and one or more yoke of cattle, having been tied by a rope to the stake, are driven round and round over the crop. When, however, wheat is being threshed in large quantities, a heavy mass of wood and straw (pharsá) is yoked behind each pair of cattle, and these are driven round and round, commencing from the outside of the circle and working gradually

Threshing.

inwards. The cattle are driven by a 'gahera,' who is often a hired man, employed for this purpose only. Almost all kinds of crops (including rice, jowár, peas, etc.) are threshed by cattle; but when the amount is small, it is often beaten out by hand with sticks (kúdan). Til is held upside down and shaken by hand (jháran or chhangan); and chína is often threshed by being beaten by hand against the sides of a hole in the ground.

Winnowing.

When the grain has been separated and the straw broken, the staff is tossed into the air with a pitchfork, and then further cleaning is done by shaking the grain and chaff still left in a winnowing basket (chajj), held up aloft in a man's hand, above his head to catch the breeze. The more breeze there is, the quicker the work is finished. The winnower is almost always a Chúhra or man of low caste; but the villagers sometimes do the work themselves.

Storing.

The grain, when ready, is stored in stacks called 'palla,' which are circular erections with sides made of munj grass or other suitable material; the grain, after being put in these, is plastered at the top, and the whole is generally raised from the ground on bricks in order to allow air to circulate and keep off weevils (ghun). Big landowners in the Multán and Shujábád tahsíls have granaries (bhanda) of brick, in which the grain is stored in bulk. Grain required for household use is stored in plastered bins known as 'kalhota.'

(c) Agricultural population.

The figures below are taken from the Census Report of 1921 and show the number of persons dependent on various agricultural and pastoral sources of income:—

—	Total workers and dependents.	Actual workers.		Dependents.
		Males.	Females.	
1. Income from rent of agricultural land.	41,010	12,700	1,281	27,029
2. Ordinary cultivators ...	387,243	116,896	2,291	268,056
3. Farm servants	582	300	6	276
4. Field labourers	32,297	16,308	194	15,795
5. Growers of fruit, flowers and vegetables, etc.	30	10	...	20
6. Cattle breeders and keepers ...	12,591	7,031	95	5,465
7. Sheep, goat and pig breeders ...	249	178	...	71
8. Herdsmen, shepherds and goatherds, etc.	8,008	3,621	51	4,336
Total ...	482,010	157,044	3,918	321,048

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Agriculture.

The above total represents 54 per cent. of the total population of the district as compared with 60 per cent. for the whole province ; but the Multán figure almost certainly under-estimates the importance of agriculture and a large number of persons have been excluded, who are dependent to a large extent on the produce of land, although they have shown some other source as their chief means of livelihood.

Agricultural labourers.

Large owners of land usually employ a certain number of permanent farm servants, many of whom were included in the class of field labourers at last Census. Both classes are employed in every kind of farming operation and are paid somtimes in kind, sometimes in cash and sometimes in both. They are the outskirts of the tenant-at-will class, many labourers cultivating as tenants in good years and when opportunity offers ; and not a few tenants drifting into the status of hired labourers to tide over unfavourable seasons. The demand for tenants in the Canal Colonies has done much to improve the condition of the classes from which farm labourers are drawn. The inadequacy of the supply has resulted in a large increase in wages, while many labourers have risen to the status of prosperous tenants. The menial classes in particular have benefited, since they are able at all times of the year to supplement their customary sources of income by farm labour.

(d) Crops. Cropping.

The percentage of the total matured area occupied by the various crops now and at the third Settlement are given below :—

(Five tahsíls only.)

Crop.	Third Settlement percentage.	Fourth Settlement percentage.
Rice	2	2
Jowár	9	7
Bájra	2	5
Cotton	10	6
Indigo	4	1
Til	3	3
Total kharíf ...	34	33
Wheat	44	44
Barley	1	1
Gram	3	4
Peas	5	4
Oilseed	1	3
Turnips	6	6
Total ...	66	67

CHAPTER II, Agriculture. Cropping.

The decline in the proportion under cotton is exaggerated; the years selected were not good cotton years and kharába was given on a very generous scale. The large drop in indigo is explained partly by the later opening of the canals, and partly by the pre-war slump in prices. The kharíf, on the whole, now contains a lower proportion of valuable crops than at the 3rd settlement, but it has to be borne in mind that the system of cropping varies largely from year to year according to duration and distribution of supplies of canal water. In the rabi, the changes have been slight.

The inclusion of the statistics for the Khánewál tahsíl would have the effect of raising appreciably the percentages of wheat and cotton which represent a large portion of the crops matured in the Colony.

We have in the third book of the "Ain-i-Akbari" a list of the crops grown in Multán three centuries ago, and it is interesting to compare the names with those of the crops now grown. Rice, wheat, barley, jowár, til, cotton, indigo, and methra are all in Abul Fazl's list, so also is chína, under the name of arzan, and masúr under that of adás. The ordinary sugarcane is in his list, but no pona cane. We do not of course find tobacco, and it may be noted that the list does not contain bájra, ussún, sathri, peas, gram or turnips.

Sugarcane.

Sugarcane (kamád) is not an important crop in this district, the crop being grown mostly round Multán city and near Shujábád, but the percolation (somán) caused by the river, has driven it very largely out of the latter locality. The variety grown near Multán itself is the pona, which is eaten in its natural state, that grown elsewhere is generally the kátha, or thin, reddish kind of cane, required for the preparation of gur. The cost of cultivation is extremely high. The seed canes are preserved from the previous harvest, and buried during the cold weather. They are then planted in February or March in ground which has been specially prepared by constant ploughings and abundant manure. The crop then receives a succession of canal waterings, interspersed with hoeings and weedings and further manurings. The cutting begins in October and goes on through the cold weather.

Indigo.

This crop, which at the second Settlement (1875—1888) occupied 10 per cent. of the cropped area, now represents only 1 per cent. of the cropping. It is little grown upon the Sidhnai lands, but is common wherever there is flow irrigation from inundation canals. The most famous is that of the Sardárwáh tract in Lodhrán and Shujábád; but there is good indigo elsewhere also. The outturn assumed for assessment purposes at the present Settlement was 10 or 11 sers per acre; and the price obtained by the cultivator,

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Agriculture.

Indigo.

though subject to large fluctuations, was taken to average Rs. 64 per maund.

This crop is seldom grown on lands near the river ; it requires a good average loam in the soil, and, above all things, an early and plentiful supply of water. The crop being cut early in the autumn, an early stoppage of the canals does not affect it ; but it is essential that the canals should not begin to run too late. Well or jhalár water is very seldom applied, and the crop is practically always irrigated by canal flow. The crop is cut down to about six inches from the ground after the first year, and produces a further crop on the same stalks in the second year; the first year's crop is known as *sarop* and the second year's as *mundhí*. Third year indigo is looked on as unlucky, and is practically unknown. The outturn of sarop and mundhí is much the same ; but if the original sowings were early in the season the sarop will be slightly more productive than the mundhían and *vice versâ* if the sowings were late. The mundhí require earlier waterings than the new crop ; so that sometimes when the canal water comes somewhat late the mundhí crop is lost but sarop can be sown.

The ploughings for the first crop begin as early in the year as is feasible, and the more ploughings there are the better: the crop, however, is often made to follow wheat, and in this case ploughing is often dispensed with altogether. Canal water ought to be put on the land by the third week in May, and the seed, generally some twenty sers to the acre, is sown broadcast. After this some eighteen to twenty waterings are required, but great discrimination has to be used in applying the water. While the plants are young the water is given sparingly and at night, so that they may not rot from standing in water heated by the sun. Manuring is seldom resorted to, and weeding is generally done by letting sheep and goats graze among the plants. 'Mundhían' are ready to cut from the 1st August, 'sarop' from the middle of August to the end of September.

Then follows the vatting or *valori*. The 'vats' (hauz) are built in sets of three, two large ones on each side and a smaller one in the middle ; they are spoken of as 'jori.' The people estimate the outturn by the area which a set of vats will serve daily; this is put for an average crop at about one-eighth of an acre: and if we put the period of croppings at twenty-four days, this gives about three acres for each pair or set of 'vats.' Each pair of 'vats' produces about 1 ser of indigo daily, or about 32 sers each season. If, however, there are 'mundhí' in the same field, the time available is longer and the acreage served is larger. The plant, when cut, is tied up in bundles, and at once taken to the larger 'vats,' in which they are placed upright, with the stalks downwards: each 'vat' contains eight to ten bundles:

at evening water is let in sufficiently to cover the plant, which it is kept pressed down by heavy beams of wood placed across it. It is of importance that this steeping takes place as soon as possible after the plant is cut, otherwise it dries up and is spoilt. After the plant has been steeped from twenty-four to twenty-six hours, it is taken out, leaves and all, leaving only the liquid in the 'vats,' which the second workman now begins to churn up with an instrument like a large paddle: this lasts about four hours, and is an art requiring great practice. It is called 'vilorna,' the object being to assist the indigo or sediment to precipitate, which it does in about an hour after the churning is over. The clear liquid is then drawn off, leaving the sediment or pulpy water at the bottom of each large 'vat'; this is then transferred to the smaller vat and allowed to settle all night. In the morning the water is again drawn off from the smaller 'vat'; the sediment carefully collected, tied up in a cloth, and drained on a heap of sand; finally it is dried in the sun, kneaded into a paste with the hand, and made up into small balls; a little oil being added to heighten the colour. The peculiar circumstances of indigo are such that it is impossible to give any part of the crop in charity to the poor, and I have known a zamíndár abstain from cultivating the crop because, as he said, 'it had not the name of Allah in it.'

Indigo.

Besides the ordinary dye of commerce, the leaves supply a hair dye, and the stalks (val), after steeping, afford an excellent manure, especially for wheat.

Indigo is imported mainly to Afghánistán, Bokhára and Yárkand.

Cotton.

Cotton (avanwar, var or varan) is the staple crop of the Khánewál tahsíl and an important crop throughout the district. In the Lower Bári Doáb Colony the varieties of American cotton selected by the Agricultural Department are commonly sown and improved methods of culture are usually followed. The example has influenced the Sidhnai colonists to some extent, but the supply of canal water is not sufficiently certain to ensure the ripening of American cottons, and their cultivation on the Sidhnai and the inundation canals must therefore be in the nature of a gamble. A few enterprising zamíndárs are trying special types of country cotton, but with these exceptions, the cultivators adhere to the old methods. They generally speak of two main kinds of cotton, namely, the *bagga*, or white, and the *narma*, or dark leaved plant; the former of which gives one-fourth weight of cleaned cotton and three-fourths of seeds; the latter one-third of cleaned cotton and two-thirds of seeds; the latter is less commonly found in the Sutlej tahsíls than in the west part of the district. The normal outturn is from 3 to 4 maunds, except in the Khánewál tahsíl where as much as 16 maunds may be obtained on good soil by first class cultivation.

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Agriculture.

Cotton.

The practice of growing second-year cotton is practically unknown. The crop requires a soil of ordinary character, and very often follows turnips or wheat. It is seldom found on sailáb: but is commonly grown with well or canal water, or with both. The usual form of cultivation is by canal water alone, but very often a well is at hand to supply water if the canal fails. On canal lands the cultivator generally defers preparation of the soil until the canals begin to flow, and if the canals begin late the time left is often too short to enable the crop to be sown in time. Generally two ploughings suffice before sowing, and the land is sometimes, but very seldom, manured. The seed is sown at the rate of 6 or 8 sers per acre. The sowings are carried on during May, and for a week or two in June ; and when the shoots appear some ploughing or light hoeing between the plants is sometimes undertaken. Except for this, a crop is seldom weeded and on rich canal lands the grass on the cotton fields sometimes nearly conceals the crop. Waterings continue every month or fortnight during the summer until the canals dry. If the crop has been sown early it is sufficient to water up to the end of September, but where sowings have been late, the crops suffer if water is not given in October. Pickings (chunáí) commence from the 1st October and continue to about the middle of December. Most of the cotton of the district, which is not used for home consumption, goes to the factories at Multán and the colony towns.

There is some trade in cotton seeds (pewe), but they are mostly used for feeding the cattle. The stalks, which are of so much use in the Punjab, are here of little value owing to the large supply of firewood.

Rice.

Rice (dhánj) occupies a small per cent. of the cropping. It is grown abundantly in certain of the Sidhnai villages and in the tract between Multán and Shujábád, but is practically unknown in the Lodhrán and Mailsi tahsíls. The common red rice is known as *satthra*, and the white rice as *baggi*. There are many other varieties, of which the *saunfia* and the *kalanga*, which are both late growing rices, are the best known. The outturn is generally about 10 to 12 maunds to the acre, but the quality of the outturn is very inferior to ordinary Punjab rice, and there is practically no export of any rice grown in the district.

The soils most suited to this crop are the hard clayey bottoms, unculturable for most other staples ; but rice, here, as elsewhere, requires immense supplies of water. On the Sidhnai the seed is sown broadcast; elsewhere the seedlings (bíja) are usually transplanted from seed beds (paniri). The cultivation is dependent entirely on the canals, well water being used only for the development of the seed beds. The ploughing begins when the canals begin to run, and after two or three ploughings the seedlings are transplanted,

generally during June and the early part of July. Manure is seldom used, except for the seed beds, and there is no weeding. Water has to be continually supplied every few days until the plant ripens in September.

Jowár.

The jowár of this district, whether grown for food or for fodder, is spoken of as *jowár;* but of late years the crop, when grown of fodder, has been entered in the revenue returns as *chari*. The crop is common everywhere and produces, when matured, 5 or 6 maunds of grain per acre. The crop appears both in the zaid rabi harvest and in the kharíf. The seed is sown at the rate of about 12 sers to the acre, and the crop receives some four waterings. The earlier crop is sown, as a rule, on well waterings and matured by canal: the latter crop is both sown and matured on canal irrigation.

Bájra.

Bájra, or as it is more usually called bajri, represents about 5 per cent. of the cropping of the district: it is found in all tahsíls, but is most common in Mailsi. The produce per acre is ordinarily 5 to 6 maunds. The crop is one of the later kharíf crops, and is cultivated in much the same way, and at much the same time, as til. Some 4 or 5 sers of seed are sown per acre, and the sowings generally take place in August, and the crop is cut in October and November. The stalks are always decapitated near the top, and this process is known as *láparna*.

Maize.

Maize (makki) as a food crop is practically unknown, except on the Sidhnai, where it is grown by Punjabi settlers. The only maize cultivation of importance is that of the suburbs of Multán, where it is grown as a fodder crop for sale to horseowners and to the Commissariat. The early or jethi maize, which is the commoner form, is sown in July and cut in September ; the late or kanjhi maize is sown in October and cut in January. In either case the crop is sold standing, and the average price fetched is not less than Rs. 60 an acre and in the suburbs of Multán is considerably more.

Til.

Til or sesamun (generally spoken of in the plural as tillán) is mainly a nahri crop, though found also in the Mailsi báráni lands and on the sailáb lands of the upper part of the Chenáb river. The outturn is from 3 to 3½ maunds per acre. The crop gives fair returns and costs less to cultivate than most, as it can do with a light soil and moderate moisture, can be sown late, and requires very little looking after. The sowings take place in July, and the crop is cut in November. It is liable, when grown on the river side, to be destroyed by floods. When the crop fails the stalks are sometimes browsed by camels ; they are no use as fodder for cattle.

Wheat.

Wheat (kanak or pl. kanakán) is the most important crop in the district, occupying 44 per cent. of the cropping in the five tahsíls. The crop is grown on all soils—well,

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canal and river; but unless circumstances are favourable it is the better for being matured in all cases by well irrigation. More improvement in the way of seed selection has been made in this crop than in any other and on the Lower Bári Doáb Canal and to a less extent in the Sihdnai, the varieties approved by the Agricultural Department are generally sown. The local varieties one hears most mentioned are the 'ramak' or true white, the 'satthra,' the 'kanjári' and the 'dhudi.' The 'ramak' is looked on the best as regards both the flour and the straw; the 'satthra' is said to give a large outturn of grain, but an inferior straw; the 'dhudi' is small-eared white wheat; and the 'kanjári' is the bearded red wheat, which is grown especially on the riverain lands because of the aversion shown by pigs to this variety. Other wheats, such as kunj, pamman, vadának, mendiánwáli, etc., are also grown, but not in appreciable quantities. The wheat is never intentionally sown with barley, but barley seeds, to a certain extent, get mixed in wheat, and, except the Arains, few of the zamíndárs take the trouble to separate the two at reaping so as to keep the seeds distinct. The best class of wheat seed is said to be obtained from the Aráins of Jalla in the Lodhrán tahsíl. Wheat is often sold before it reaches maturity, and such advance sales are known as 'boli.' They are chiefly customary in the western tahsíls, and are not so common in Lodhrán and Mailsi. The outturns vary a good deal in different tracts, and, generally speaking, the sandy sailab soil gives a lower outturn than the lands sown by canals, but on an average an acre of wheat, according to the calculations made at the recent Settlement produces about 9 maunds of grain. The outturn in the Lower Bári Doáb Canal is of course much higher.

On canal lands the ploughings begin from the middle of June onwards and on sailáb lands they begin as soon as the soil is sufficiently dry. On wells they do not begin till later than on the canals, but if there is any summer rain advantage is at once taken of the moisture supplied by it. The ploughings and harrowings should be as frequent as possible, but they are naturally fewer on sailáb lands, where the time allowed is short, than elsewhere. Sowings begin in October, and can be carried on in well lands up to near the end of December, but elsewhere they must be finished in November, because the moisture supplied by the rivers and canals is insufficient to mature the crop if sown later. The amount sown is, roughly, a maund an acre; but the later the sowings the more is the amount required. The seed is generally sown by drill (nálí), as the moisture supplied by canals or the river has generally sunk somewhat by the time sowings commence: if, however, well irrigation is available and the upper soil is moist, the seed is often sown broadcast (chatta). After the sowings are completed the land is generally left

Wheat.

unwatered for a month or two, but after that it is watered as frequently as can be arranged. Manure is used where available, and the stalks of the indigo plant are a very favourite kind of manure. This crop is very seldom grown as a mixed crop with others. It is, however, largely employed in the spring as a fodder crop when the turnips have been exhausted. It is calculated that on an average year between 7 and 8 per cent. of the crop is so employed, but in bad years the proportion is very much higher, mounting as high in some tracts as 25 or 30 per cent. The harvesting commences on the 1st of Baisákh (middle of April). Wheat is said to give the largest yield in the same year in which the ber-tree yields most plentifully: 'Berín ber kanakán dher.'

The wheat straw (bhoh or bhún) is collected in stacks (palle), and surrounded with wattles or cotton stalks and daubed over with mud. It is given out to the cattle mixed with green fodder, or, if green fodder is not available, by itself. The outturn of straw per acre is much the same, speaking generally, as that of the grain: the price varies of course a good deal according to the proximity of the market, and only a small proportion of the straw is sold. It will keep for about two years; after that it becomes red and sour.

The root of the plant is known as *muddh*, the stalk as *nár*, the leaves as *pattr*, the ear as *sitti*, the husk as *ghúndí*, the grain as *dána*, and the beard as *kanjár* or *kíh*.

Barley.

Barley (jau) occupies about 1 per cent. of the cropping, and the area now grown is nearly twice as large as it was twenty years ago. The crop is grown in all soils and in all parts of the district, mainly in small patches near wells, and under much the same conditions as wheat. There is a dark variety grown which is known as indarjau. The crop is generally grown on wells, and it is chiefly used as fodder for horses. It is very seldom intentionally mixed with any other crop, but owing to carelessness, a good deal of barley grows up along with the wheat. The grain is reaped a fortnight or so before the wheat, and the outturn is much the same as that of wheat.

Gram.

Gram (channa) is grown in 4 per cent. of the cropped area. It is common as a nahri crop throughout the district; as a sailáb crop it is found chiefly in the upper course of the Chenáb and on the Rávi. The crop produces, as a rule, some 5 maunds to the acre, but the quality of the produce is very inferior. The crop is grown, as a rule, in depressions with hard bottoms, or it follows rice in hard clays which have been drenched with canal water during the summer. Only one or two ploughings are required, and well water is seldom, if ever, given; but the crop is the better for rain in the winter. Ploughings begin in September, and the crop is ripe early in April. Manure is never used. Gram

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is liable to damage if the frosts are hard, and if thunder occurs when it is in pod. It is often grown along with turnips or peas, but is usually a separate crop. It is not unfrequently used as fodder, especially when mixed with other crops.

Peas.

Peas (mattar or charal) are found mainly as a riverain crop, and their cultivation is especially common on the Sutlej in Mailsi. The peas of this district are nearly always used as fodder, especially for cows and she-buffaloes. They are, as a rule, sold standing, and the price received in an average year may be taken as Rs. 15 per acre. In years when fodder is scarce the crop fetches prices much higher than this. The soil affected by this crop is much the same as that which is suitable for gram; the mode of cultivation is very similar, and the two crops are often grown mixed. Peas are also grown along with methra. Peas can, however, be sown somewhat later than gram, and are usually pulled somewhat earlier. They are subject to the same complaints as gram, and the straw of the matured plant is utilized as a fodder.

Methra.

Fenugreek or methra is found in all parts of the district, chiefly in the neighbourhood of wells, where its presence is detected by its peculiar 'pig-sty' smell. It is used entirely as a fodder crop. The land is ploughed for methra about October, and about half a maund of seed is used to the acre. The crop should get four or five waterings during the winter, and is fit for use in February.

Tobacco.

Tobacco (tabákún) is found all over the district, and the cultivation is almost always carried on by well irrigation. In the suburbs of Multán, where this is a popular crop, two kinds are commonly grown, *viz.*, the country tobacco and the Kandáhári. For country tobacco the seed beds are prepared in October or November, and the land is ploughed several times, beginning from October onwards; in February or March the transplanting takes place, and the leaves are ready in July. The Khandáhári tobacco is an earlier crop, being commenced in January and cut in June. The produce is best if the soil is slightly saline; and the wells of the Lodhrán and Shujábád Rawa are said to produce excellent tobacco, mainly on this account. Half a ser of seed will furnish a seed bed sufficient to plant an acre of crop. Tobacco needs a great deal of manure and plenty of water. In the suburbs of Multán the outturn and price are both higher, and the crop there will generally be sold standing at an average price of some Rs. 120 per acre; elsewhere Rs. 60 per acre is a fair value.

Ussún and Satthri.

Very little rape is grown and practically no linseed; their place as oil-seeds being taken largely by ussún (tára míra) and satthri (toria). Ussún is a rabi crop, being sown about the end of September and reaped about the beginning of April; while satthri is in a way intermediate between the

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Ussún and Satthri.

kharíf and rabi, being sown about the end of August and maturing in November. Ussún does not require much moisture; it is grown on pure canal bárání cultivation, and is chiefly found in the Lodhrán and Mailsi tahsíls. It is often found in the outer reaches of well estates, where it will get well water if there is any to spare, but will survive well enough if there is none. It is also often grown with turnips. Satthri (the greater part of which is counted in the revenue records as a kharíf crop) is not grown as a separate crop to any great extent outside the Sidhnai area, where it is a very popular staple. Outside this area it is mainly grown along with turnips, and forms, when so grown, a green fodder which is available for the cattle earlier than the turnips. Satthri as a separate crop is nearly always grown on pure nahri land: it requires a good deal of water after sowing, and is generally irrigated once a fortnight until the canal dries up.

Turnips.

The Multán district grows more turnips (goṅglu or ság) than any district in the Punjab, and probably more than any district in India. This crop represents 6 per cent. of the cultivation outside the Lower Bári Doáb Colony and its function is to keep the cattle alive when the jowár fodder is finished, until the wheat and the wheat straw are available. It is used to a small extent as food—the stalks (gandal) being cooked and the roots being eaten either raw or cooked—but it is not cultivated with this object. There are two varieties, the red and the white, of which the white are said to be better and the more widely cultivated. The crop needs a fair amount of water, and is seldom found outside the reach of well irrigation. It is common in all parts of the district. The ploughings begin in July, and the seed is sown shortly after. The crop receives six or seven waterings during the autumn and winter: it is manured if possible, and sometimes weeded. The roots are not taken up at one time and stacked, but are pulled from time to time, from the end of November onwards, and given at once to the cattle. As a rule the tops and roots are given together, but sometimes the tops are cut and fed off separately, while the roots remain in the ground. The plants are never thinned or transplanted. The crop is sometimes grown along with other crops, such as methra, gram, satthri and ussún.

The better class of turnips, whether kept for seed or intended for consumption, are taken up about February, and the roots are subjected to the process of 'dakk.' There are two varieties of this process: the first, which has the best results, consists in taking out the root, cutting off about one-third from the bottom and replacing it in new soil; the other, known as 'dátriwála dakk,' consists in taking out the root, making an incision with a sickle, and then replacing it in its old position. The latter, though giving inferior results,

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renders the root more immune from 'tela,' and is for this reason often adopted in preference to the other. The seed of turnips is sometimes, but not often, sold for oil or mixed with flour to make oil-cakes for cattle.

Miscellaneous crops.

Múng and moth are not popular crops in this district, and másh is confined mainly to the upper part of the Chenáb reverain tract. In this tract, too, the cultivation of rawán (vigna catiang) is not uncommon, especially as a catch crop after the rabi. Chillies (mirch) are very little grown, and hemp (bhang) is only grown in small patches near fakirs' dwellings. Henna (mehndi) is grown in the immediate neighbourhood of Mailsi, and is not much found elsewhere. Vegetables of all kinds are grown round Multán city, and small plots of vegetables are commonly found on wells, especially those with Aráin owners or tenants. Onions (vasal) are very commonly grown in such plots. In Fatehpur, in the Mailsi tahsíl, the soil and conditions are especially suited to the cultivation of garlic (thom), and considerable areas round the village site are there cultivated with this crop at high profits. A crop very commonly grown is the bátaun or egg plant, of which there are two kinds— the Lahori, which is ready in April, and the desi, which is ready in June. Dhania (coriander) with its white flower and the blue-flowered kásni (endive) are also fairly commonly seen on wells. Melon-fields (vári) are also common near Multán, and their cultivation gives rise to a curious proverb on the various fortunes of mankind: 'Várí vichh kharbúze rahde, apo apni já kai gore kai sánvle. Rabb wadda be parwá!' (You may sow melons in a field, each in its proper place; some come up white, some red. God is mighty careless!)

Diseases of crops.

Some of the diseases suffered by crops have been already noticed, but some of the more prevalent and general of the crop diseases may be referred to here. Tela is an insect which chiefly attacks methra, turnips and tobacco, and many other crops: it makes its appearance both when the crop is young and when it is nearly ripe. White ants (siwi) attack the young crops or the roots of maturing crops in dry soils when there has been a lack of water: the injury they cause is also spoken of as '*múla.*' A common cure for this disease is to get hold of a Kirár, called Múla, and to hit him frequently until he leaves the field: he is afterwards appeased with a few vegetables. Various kinds of 'worms' (kíra) attack jowár, indigo, gram and other crops. The 'worm' that attacks indigo appears when the crop is young and is green in colour. The boll worm is a source of much damage to cotton. Wheat is also subject to rust (ratti or kungí) if the spring is cloudy; and smut (kani) is also common in wheat and other grain crops. Hard frosts (pála) are injurious to gram, ussún, tobacco and peas; and gram is

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said also to be damaged by lightning. Field rats gnaw the roots of ussún, wheat, etc., especially in sandy soils: crops so damaged are said to suffer from 'toka' (from tukan, to eat or bite). Hailstorms are not very frequent, and the damage they cause is usually confined to a narrow zone; but within the belt affected the crops are sometimes entirely destroyed. Locusts do great damage to almost all kinds of crops: the extent and character of the damage they do depends on the stage of growth in which the crops and the locusts, respectively, are.

Fruit gardens.

The Multán and Shujábád tahsíls contain a number of fine gardens and the large profits they yield to their owners explain the large increase in the area under orchards. There are three methods of garden culture: the owner may elect to plant the garden himself and to water it by a special small well worked by a servant; or he may plant the garden himself and pay the tenant of the neighbouring well a certain amount each year in money or fruit in return for the tenant's supplying water; or he may give out the whole planting and construction to a tenant (then called a násib) in return for a share of the produce, generally a half. The most common fruits planted are mangoes and pomegranates, but apples, oranges, limes, vines, horse-radish, fálshá and kachnál trees are also common. The mango fruits after six or eight years, costs very little to keep up, and is said to last for fifty or one hundred years. The pomegranate fruits after four or five years, and lasts for fifteen to twenty-five years. The mango fruits in June and July; but there are some special kinds, found mainly in the south of Shujábád, which fruit as late as August, and are known as bhadri. Promegranates fruit in February, and oranges in March. The Shahpasand and Sufeda mangoes of Multán and the Tori of Shujábád are well known; and in the early days of annexation while communication with Bombay was still undeveloped, one of the luxuries of the hot weather among Europeans in Lahore used to consist of Multán mangoes. Locally, a white pulp and a small stone are looked on as the points of a good mango. Good edible mangoes sell in the season for three or four rupees the ser and there is a large export in the Lahore and Karáchi directions. A preserve and a kind of vinegar are made from mangoes. Locally, a white pulp and a small stone are looked on as the points of a good mango. Good edible auction to '*baikhars*'; and there is a custom by which the owner after the auction is allowed within a certain time to sell to a higher bidder on condition that he pays to the original purchaser one-fourth of the difference in the bids. It is also customary for the owner to be allowed to take for his own use one ser of fruits for each rupee of the purchase. The purchaser in the case of mangoes pays half down and half in July or August; for pomegranates or oranges

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one-third is paid down in July, and one-third in December. In some cases, where the outturn is apt to vary, the purchase includes the fruit of two successive years.

Fodder crops.

In an ordinary holding in this district the well cattle will be fed in April on peas or methra, and as the wheat is cut they get grazing in the stubble; in May and June they graze in the wheat stubble or get fed on chína or pea-straw; in July they get the early jowár, and wheat straw is also available; from August to December they get jowár or green grass or bájra stalks; and when green food is not available, then wheat-straw or dried jowár is given to them. With December begins the turnip season, and as the turnips give out, green wheat is supplied as far as necessary, or the cattle receive peas and methra until the wheat crop is cut in April. During a large part of the year, therefore, the well cattle are stall fed; and it is, as a rule, only when there is wheat stubble or peas or fresh grass on the ground that they get anything like sufficient grazing. In addition to the peas, wheat, chína, jowár, and turnips above mentioned, there are several other crops used wholly partly for fodder, such as rawán, másh, massar, gram, senji, methra and sawánk. Sometimes crops, such as jowár and turnips, shrivel up when young and become actually poisonous to cattle: this is called 'patha lagna.' Cattle can graze freely among indigo plants, so long as they have not begun to seed, without injuring the crop.

The date-palm.

The date-tree (khajjí) is one of the most remarkable products of the district. It is almost everywhere self-produced, and it is exceedingly rare to see date-trees artificially cultivated. The only treatment of any kind which they receive is a little lopping (chángi) in the spring. They are to be found in almost all areas where there is a large amount of natural moisture in the soil: they do not grow in tracts subject to flooding and in the higher tracts away from the rivers. Their chief habitats are the lower Rávi and the Chenáb riverain near Multan; on the Sutlej they are comparatively rare, except in a cluster of villages near Fattehpur and Kahror. The date-trees are for the most part female (máda), but a certain proportion are male (nar) and a few neuter (khassi). These last bear only small shrivelled dates without stones (gitak), or with very small stones. The males and females are exceedingly difficult to distinguish when the female is not in fruit; and though the zamíndárs will detail to you many points of difference, their statements generally fall through when applied in practice. Experienced men will often give absolutely different decisions as to the sex of a tree; and as the Government revenue is taken on the females only, the enumeration for Government purposes has to take place in the fruiting season (June to August). A date-palm begins to fruit in about

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five years, but does not give a full produce for some ten years longer. How long a tree lasts altogether is not known to the people, but their existence certainly exceeds an ordinary human lifetime.

A tree is sometimes charred by lighting a fire against it with the object of increasing its production. The spathes (sipí) of the palm begin to issue in February from the terminal cluster of leaves. As the spathe opens, clusters of tendrils (known as ghosha) emerge covered with little white waxy balls (búra), which are the flower buds. In April the fruit is the size of a pea, and is spoken of as gandora. In June and July the fruit has attained its full size and is called doka, and the unripe dates, which are to be ripened by being salted are then gathered. Dates which fall from the tree are called 'phus.' In July and August the fruit ripens, and is then called pind. The ordinary practice is for the owner to sell his produce in advance to an outsider, who is known as the *baikhar*, and after the sale the expenses connected with the date harvest fall on the baikhar.

It is difficult to say what the average produce of a full-grown tree may be, but 20 sers may be taken as a fair average; the price varies according to the quality and demand from Rs. 2 to Rs. 7 per maund for dry dates. The outturn is injuriously affected by severe rains; and there is a green caterpillar, similar to that which attacks gram, from which date-trees sometimes suffer severely. The produce is eaten in four ways:—(*i*) As salted dates (luni pind): these are picked when unripe, and are rubbed with salt and kept for a day in a closed jar. They get good prices, as they are available early in the season. (*ii*) As picked (van de pind), that is to say, fresh (táza) as taken from the tree. (*iii*) Dried (shangist). In this case the better class of dates are exposed to the sun for a few days, after which they will keep good for some three or four months. (*iv*) Chirvín-pind or split dates. Inferior dates are split open, and the stone is taken out and the dates dried. The refuse fruit (gadr) at the end of the season is given to cattle: it is boiled in water and then fried in a little oil; or else it is given as it stands. Fruit that remains unripe to the end is called 'kokan,' and dates which are pressed together into a lump are spoken of as 'pinn.' Dates lose about two-thirds of their weight in dryage; and dry dates sell in the season for some Rs. 2 to Rs. 2-8-0 per maund. The chief date markets are Tulamba, Multán, Shujábád, Jalálpur and Fattehpur; each of these supplies the country round, both inside and outside the district, and there is also a certain amount of export to Lahore and Amritsar. The dates are of innumerable varieties (nalli, garma, richh, moghal

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The date-palm.

chawára, etc., etc.), and in some places the produce of each clump has a special name and fame of its own. The uses of a date-tree are by no means confined to the food obtainable from it. The leaf stalk (chari) is in bad years cut up and given to the cattle with the wheat straw as fodder. The charís are also used for making light fences, frames, etc., etc., and the fibre from them is employed in making ropes. The pinuæ (bhútra or phara) are used for mats, baskets, fans and ropes. The network fibre which is found at the base of each petiole is called kabál; and this forms a good light firewood. The fruit stalk, with the fruit on it, is called gosha; after the fruit is off it is called buhára, and is often used as a broom. The stem of the tree is called 'mundh,' and it is used for rafters and, when hollowed out, for cattle-troughs or for aqueducts on wells and jhalárs. The wood, however, is soft and does not last long. A cluster of stems springing from one stool is called 'thadda' or (in Kabírwála) 'chopa.' Where dates are valuable, each clump, and in some cases each individual tree, has its name by which it is known in the neighbourhood. The cluster of leaves at the top of the palm is called gáchá, and in the heart of it is the terminal cabbage head called gari, which is edible. The date-stone is called gitak or gakkar.

(e) Extension of cultivation.

For the district as a whole, the area under the plough increased by 434,000 acres approximately, or 45 per cent. between the 3rd and 4th Settlements; but of this large rise, 270,000 acres approximately of new cultivation are attributable to the opening of the Lower Bari Doab Canal. In the five tahsíls unaffected by this canal, the increase was 224,000 acres approximately, or 23 per cent., particular causes being the extensions of the Sidhnai and Durána Langána Canals; and the general causes being the improvement in irrigation on the inundation canals and the sinking of many new wells.

Changes in the agricultural system.

As already noted, the colonists on the Lower Bári Doáb Canal have not been slow to adopt the selected seed and new appliances advocated by the Agricultural Department which has devoted particular attention to the needs and opportunities of a new colony. The farmers have not only had the benefit of expert advice and scientific demonstrations, but they have been able to learn much from the practical results attained by large farms run on up-to-date lines. Among these special mention may be made of the large farm held by the British Cotton Growing Association at Khánewál, where Mr. Roberts, the Manager, and a former Director of Agriculture in the Punjab, is doing most valuable work in demonstrating to farmers the great practical advantages of scientific farming on business principles. Generally it may be said that the standard of agriculture in the Khánewál tahsíl is high and that the cultivators are ready to adopt

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new methods so soon as they are convinced of their financial soundness.

Changes in the agricultural system.

The results obtained in the colony have not been without effect in the rest of the district, where a demand is arising for pure seed and improved implements, although as yet this demand is confined to a few men of enterprise, who take a personal interest in the management of their estates and are not afraid to spend money on experiments. Such men are found in every tahsíl and their presence is a most favourable omen for the rapid development of the district when the Agricultural Department is able to extend its activities on a large scale outside the colony. There is, in fact, very great scope for experiment and demonstration, for the system of combined canal and well irrigation, found on the inundation canals, while furnishing problems of its own, also provides very great opportunities for profitable research. That the Multáni cultivator is conservative may be accepted as a truism; but the large amount of capital that has been expended within the past twenty years on the sinking of new wells, the making of embankments and the clearance of irrigation channels affords conclusive proof that owners of land, both large and small, are prepared to invest money if there is a reasonable prospect of a fair return.

(f) The working of Land Improvement and Agriculturist Loans Act.

Statistics will be found in Table 20 of Volume B relating to advances and outstandings under the Land Improvement and Agriculturist Loans Act. An examination of the figures shows, as one would expect, that the advances made under the latter Act vary greatly from year to year; but it also shows similar variations under the former Act and these are not capable of explanation by seasonal variations. The truth is that neither Government nor the zamíndár has used the Land Improvement Act to the best advantage. In a district where the scope for new wells is very large and where, in fact, a large number have been sunk during recent years, advances for this purpose should have been made on a large scale. But, if we except the years during which money was freely lent and taken for the development of the Sidhnai areas, we find that actual allotments have been very irregular and that the outstandings are considerably less than they were twenty years ago. There are several reasons for this ; but the chief are the unpopularity of Government advances and the failure of local officers to popularise them. Most owners prefer to borrow at higher rates of interest from money-lenders than from Government. They complain that there is much delay and not a little corruption in obtaining a Government loan ; that the system of recovery is too rigid and that while the village 'sahukár' suspends collection in bad years, the tahsíl authorities not infrequently insist on realization even if this involves the attachment and sale of

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Agriculture.

(f) The working of Land Improvement and Agriculturist Loans Act.

agricultural stock. There is some truth in these complaints, but it is also true that only too many owners are ready to resort to the means of credit which cause them least trouble, even though the ultimate cost may be heavy. As a result, although the Land Improvement Act has been of value to the development of the district, it has not been utilised as it should have been.

Relief under the Agriculturist Loans Act has been freely given and taken. A failure of the canals is necessarily accompanied by scarcity of fodder, and if the failure extends into a second year, there is sure to be grave loss amongst plough and well cattle. In the worst years the poorer cultivators will require advances for seed also. Liberal and local distribution of loans can then do much to effect a rapid recovery; and experience has shown that the return to more or less normal conditions is not long delayed.

Co-operative Societies.

Multán was the second, if not the first, district in the province in which Co-operative Societies were started. In 1904, owing to the efforts of Mr. (now Sir Edward) Maclagan, Settlement Officer, four societies were started at Thathi Ghalwan, Jalálpur Pirwála, Dunyápur and Makhdúmpur Paháran. In 1911, a new society was formed at Lasuri by reducing the area of Thathi Ghalwan, but no further progress was made until 1916, by which time there were 472 members using Rs. 11,728 working capital. In 1917 five more societies were organised, and the number slowly rose to 42 in 1919. In 1920, a separate Inspector was appointed to the district and the number of societies rose within a year to 123. At the end of July 1924, there were 186 Credit Societies, 4 for Silt Clearance, 2 Landholding, 2 Cattle Purchase, 1 Adult School, 1 Consolidation of Holdings, and 2 Secondary Financing Institutions, or 198 in all.

Of the original societies, Dunyápur and Makhdúmpur had to be closed owing to unsatisfactory working. Jalálpur Pirwála suffered when it lost its President, Sultan Ahmed Shah, but it is still carrying on work. Thathi Ghalwan still retains its old President, Syed Mahmud Shah, and is doing well. It has 84 members, and Rs. 5,000 capital. It advances loans without interest and levies a fine on defaulters. The society formerly included Lasuri in its area, but this has now become the headquarters of a separate society, and of a Credit Union, founded in 1918 through the exertions of the veteran Syed Phallu Shah.

The Credit Societies are mostly found in Khánewál and Shujábád tahsíls; the number of members in 1924 was over 4,000, the working capital was Rs. 3,35,000, of which

(f) The working of the Land Improvement Loans Act—

the greater portion was advanced by the Central Bank, Multán. The general illiteracy is an obstacle to successful working, and there is much scope for improvement. About three lakhs of rupees are on loan with members.

Co-operative Societies.

These Credit Societies are financed by the Central Co-operative Bank, Multán, and the Lasuri Credit Union; but these find it difficult to raise deposits locally and are themselves largely dependent upon loans from other Central Banks in the Punjab. Their constitution is of the Punjab model type. The Central Bank has both individuals and societies as members, while the Union has only societies. They lend only to societies which hold shares.

The Silt Clearance Societies are organisations of irrigators designed to secure the clearance of silt in a systematic manner. They are managed by Committees which are authorised to carry out any work which has been allotted to a member but not completed by him, and to recover the cost from him. They have met with encouraging success in the early clearance of the channels and in a corresponding increase of the area irrigated.

The Landholding Societies are composed of cultivators from Hoshiárpur and Lahore districts, who have been given 35½ squares of inferior land for cultivation, with a promise of occupancy rights. The idea is to imitate the Italian experiment of co-operative effort which has proved so successful. It is too early to pronounce any verdict upon their working.

The societies of the district are under the supervision of a Government paid Inspector, with his headquarters at Multán; they are audited by five Sub-Inspectors, towards whose pay the societies contribute annually 7½ per cent. of their net profits. Three Honorary Sub-Inspectors assist in propaganda and supervision; and the Assistant Registrar, Montgomery, is at present in charge of the movement.

Sales and mortgage of land.

In the Khánewál tahsíl sales between private persons are infrequent, while the cultivated area under mortgage represents a very small fraction of the total cultivation. For the rest of the district the following extract from the Final Settlement Report of last Settlement shows how the position of owners of land has steadily improved:—

"A grave cause of anxiety at settlement was the extent to which land was being transferred by agriculturists to money-lenders both permanently by way of sale and temporarily by way of mortgage. This tendency was effectively arrested by the Alienation of Land Act, and since this measure became law a marked improvement has occurred. In the table attached are the main statistics relating to alienations of cultivated land, the figures being taken from the Assessment

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(f) The working of the Land Improvement Loans Act—

Sales and mortgage of land.

Reports of the different tahsíls and not therefore relating to the same year:—

Tahsil.	Sales.	Mortgages.			
	Percentage of cultivated area sold since 3rd Settlement.	Cultivated area mortgaged at 3rd Settlement.		Cultivated area mortgaged at 4th Settlement.	
		In acres.	Percentage of whole.	In acres.	Percentage of whole.
Multán	12	37,671	17	26,418	10
Shujábád ...	12	21,233	13	17,944	10
Lodhrán	12	3[illegible] 882	16	28,459	13
Kabírwála ..	10	19,841	9·5	20,320	8·3
Mailsi	8	27,878	14	21,501	9

"The proportion of the total cultivated area sold is not very heavy in any tahsíl and the sales have been mostly either between Hindus or between agriculturists. In every tahsíl, the percentage of the cultivated area under mortgage has fallen, and in four of the tahsíls there has been a decrease, substantial in some cases, of the actual area mortgaged. At the same time the nature of the mortgage debt has changed. Much of it now relates to transfers for fixed periods, at the termination of which redemption will be automatic, while the oppressive form of lekha-mukhi mortgage is now found in a much smaller area than at settlement. In several tahsíls, there has been a contraction of the mortgage debt despite the increase in the value of land, which, as the following table shows, has been general:—

Tahsíl.	Years.	Per acre cultivated.	
		Sale price.	Mortgage value.
		Rs.	Rs.
Multán ...	1893-94—1897-98 ...	89	76
	1913-14—1917-18 ...	348	61
Shujábád ...	1893-94—1897-98 ..	98	85
	1913-14—1917-18 ...	202	98
Lodhrán ...	1894-95—1898-99 ...	66	62
	1914-15—1918-19 ...	149	73
Kabírwála ...	1893-94—1897-98 ...	64	76
	1912-13—1916-17 ...	135	69
Mailsi ...	1894-95—1898-99 ...	47	62
	1913-14—1917-18 ...	154	62

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"The statistics of alienations taken as a whole, afford striking evidence of real development."

(g) Agricultural stock.

The figures for agricultural stock will be found in Table 22 of Volume B. For purposes of comparison it has to be remembered that at the enumeration of 1919-20 a method of classification was adopted which had the effect of bringing many more animals into the class of young stock, so that the decrease in the number of full-grown animals in several tahsíls is less than appears from the table. In the district as a whole, a large increase has occurred owing to the import of cattle into the Lower Bári Doáb Canal Colony, but in parts of the district the fodder scarcity of 1918-19 and subsequent epidemics of cattle disease were responsible for widespread mortality. The district is rich in cattle, though many are of inferior stock; and the large increase in the number of milch animals, especially buffaloes, is evidence of agricultural prosperity. Except in the Khánewál tahsíl, the number of imported animals is a small proportion of the whole. During recent years there has been a large rise in the value of all kinds of agricultural stock and their produce and the profits are large; but tenants have been the chief gainers. The spread of cultivation has resulted in less importance being attached to flocks of sheep and goats, while the decline in camels is a natural consequence of the colonisation of large areas of Government waste.

Cows and bullocks.

In the older tahsíls of the district the same cattle are used for the plough and for the well; and in either case the turning is always from right to left, and the inner bullock must in either case be the stronger. At the well it is said that three-fifths of the whole strain falls on the inner bullock, and two-fifths on the outer. There is a great deal of breeding done locally, but many of the better class of cattle come from outside the district. There are, generally speaking, four local breeds recognized, *viz.*, (*i*) the Bhágnári, a tall, very expensive animal, usually found in the higher lands of the Shujábád and Multán tahsíls; (*ii*) the Massuwáh (from Dera Gházi Khan), a small strong breed; (*iii*) the Dájal, which are looked on as slightly inferior to the Massuwáh; and (*iv*) the locally bred cattle (tal de), which are mostly of an inferior description. The Bhágnári cattle have generally to be paid for in cash; the other classes of foreign cattle are bought on a year's credit. The dealers come round in the autumn or spring; after selling a beast they go away for a year, and return at the expiration of that period to demand its price. The class of cattle found in the lower lands near the river,—*i.e.*, where the well water is near the surface and the jungle scarce,—is poor in quality and size: they are for the most part locally bred (tal de). Their size is from 10 to 12 hands, and they cost Rs. 15 to Rs. 40 a piece. In the higher lands, where the wells require stronger cattle and the

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(g) Agricultural Stock—
Cows and bullocks.

grazing is more abundant, the animals are almost always imported and are of a much finer class, being large, white, heavy animals with short horns. About 60 per cent. of them are castrated, and their price runs from Rs. 50 to Rs. 170 each. A bullock is generally purchased for use about his fourth year, and he will usually continue capable of work until his eighth or tenth year. The bullock at various ages is spoken of by the following names:—While suckling it is called gábá or vachha; from suckling to puberty, váhar; and when full grown, dánd. While it has milk-teeth it is called khíra; when two teeth, dunda; when four, chaugá; and when six, chigga. The age is told (as the above expressions indicate) by the teeth; and there is a proverb, which says: 'Jinhan dá jam sahí, un de dand kyá dekhnen,' which means that there is no object in looking at the teeth when you have known the animal from birth. Another saying illustrates the familiar terms on which the people live with their cattle: 'Ghar jam te búhe dhíngar' (It was born in the house, and yet the owner puts thorns at the door to keep it out!) The loss of its hump by the ox in days of scarcity is alluded to in the following saying: 'Burre tún burra kurra: na dánd dí kuhárd, na jowán dá turra' (Great are the evils of famine: the bullock loses its hump, and the young man the projecting end of his pagri).

Cows are kept everywhere for breeding purposes, and the owners drink the buttermilk (chhá) and eat the ghí obtained from them. In the neighbourhood of Multán city there is a constant and good demand for the milk (khír) for sale, but elsewhere the milk is seldom sold. The ordinary peasant's cow gives comparatively little milk, and the best milkers are the cows kept by Gujars and Ahírs in the cantonments and their immediate vicinity.

Buffaloes.

Female buffaloes (manjh) are very commonly kept by the people owing to the large amount of milk which they give and their number has largely increased during recent years. The milk and ghí are both considered inferior in quality to the produce of the cow; but on the riverside the people profess a partiality for the milk of the buffalo. Male buffaloes (sánh) are comparatively few; and though they are occasionally castrated and used at the plough or on the well, their extra strength is not sufficient to make up for the extra expense of their keep as compared with oxen, and they are of no use for work when the weather gets hot. The people still to a large extent—though not so much as formerly—make a practice of killing the male offspring of buffaloes as soon as born; whence the saying: 'Wáh majhín de dil, jo putr koháwan te khír duháwan' (Bravo for the spirit of the she-buffaloes! they have their sons slain before their eyes and yet give milk to the slayers). The price of a buffalo ranges between Rs. 70 and Rs. 140.

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Agriculture.

(g) Agricultural Stock—

Diseases of cattle and buffaloes

The diseases from which cattle and buffaloes chiefly suffer are four in number, *viz.*, rinderpest (mái-rání, mátá, mátá rání), foot and mouth disease (mahára or munh-khur), gloss anthrax (ghut or galghotú), and a form of sudden death called sáng. Of these, foot and mouth disease is perhaps the most common, especially in the early summer, but it is not generally fatal; while rinderpest is both very prevalent and very fatal.

Camels.

Camels are especially common in the Mailsi and Kabírwála tahsíls, where there is most jungle for grazing. The camels are of two kinds—one kept mainly for riding, and the other mainly for pack transport. The riding camels are mostly from Baháwalpur and Bikánír, but there is also said to be a good breed in Shujábád. The pack camels are mostly bred locally. The riding camel is the better bred animal, but he is an exotic, and is more liable to ailments than the pack camel. Camels are very seldom castrated, and the services of the stallions are usually provided gratis by their owners. The best pack camels are those of the Kabírwála and Mailsi tahsíls, those in the south of the district being rather poor in size and quality. In the two northern tahsíls there are several large owners of camels among the Langriáls, Hirájs and other tribes; but elsewhere they are mostly in the hands of small owners. A zamíndár of any position generally keeps a camel to ride upon; but the bulk of the pack camels are not kept by zamíndárs, but by Biluchís and other miscellaneous tribes whose hereditary occupation is camel breeding, and who are known collectively as Dakhnas. Pack camels sell for any price between Rs. 80 and Rs. 250, the average being about Rs. 150.

The female camels (dáchi) are not usually laden, being kept entirely for breeding and for milk: they and the young camels are driven from place to place by the Dakhnas, Biluchís and others through the wastes of the district.

The camel until he is one year old is called toda; from then till two years, mazát; from two to three years, trihán; and from three to four years, chhatr. A camel under three or four years old is also called lihák. At four years old camels lose their milk-teeth and the permanent teeth come; so after this age they are named according to the number of their teeth, *viz.*, doak, chauga, chhiga and nesh, according as they have two, four, six or eight teeth. A camel becomes capable of bearing loads when he has four teeth, that is to say, when he is about six years old. The camel eats almost anything, but is chiefly grazed on kikar branches, on the camel-thorn shrub, on jál and karil trees, and on láni or khár. The proverb says: 'Uth je kanken chhoriye, watt jawáhán khá; kuttá ráj batháiye, chakki chattan já.' (Though you leave a camel in the wheat, he will still eat camel thorns. If you

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(g) Agricultural Stock—

Camels.

put a dog on the throne, he will still run and lick the mill-stone.) So, too, the fact that the camel grazes on the jál is generally evident to the nostrils, and the local equivalent for 'plain as a pikestaff' is 'uth de munh vichhon jál di bo' (the smell of the jál from the mouth of the camel). The camel is so conspicuous an object in the life of the people that sayings connected with it are very common. Such are 'Uthí da náz Kajáwá trutte' (If the camel is pleased with you and begins to frisk, crash go the kajáwas); or 'Uthín phar na áwe, te borín latta máre' (He cannot stand up against the camels, so he kicks the camel's loads) or 'Uth dí lahái charhái har do la'nat' (Mounting a camel or dismounting, one is as damnable as the other).

The camel is shorn usually once in the year, and from its hair (millass) ropes (mahár) and coarse sacks (borís) are made: the hair is seldom sold, but if sold it would seem to fetch about 6 sers to the rupee: and a camel provides on an average about a ser of hair in the year. From the camel's hide are made the kuppas or large jars which are used for carrying ghí. The milk of the camel cannot be made into butter, and it is mostly drunk by the breeders, and camel-herds themselves: with persons not accustomed to it, it acts as a violent purgative.

Sheep.

Sheep are found all over the district, and are owned by the landowners themselves or by the tenants and the village menials. They are generally grazed along with the goats. No special breeds are said to be grown and no particular care seem to be taken about the breeding; but a distinction is made between the hornless (ghoni) and the horned (singlí) varieties of sheep. The male lambs are generally killed and eaten a day or two after birth, and those that are left are never castrated. Sheep are shorn twice a year, at the beginning and the end of the hot weather, and each sheep gives about three-eighths of a ser of wool each time it is sheared. The wool sells generally for about Rs. 27 a maund, and there is a considerable demand for it in Multán for export. Full grown sheep are very seldom killed for meat, except for European consumption. An ordinary wether (ghatta) in the district sells for about Rs. 6; a ewe (bhed) for a little more; and lambs (lela, leli) for much less. Sheep, besides suffering from rinderpest and foot and mouth disease are especially liable to pleuro-pneumonia (phepri) and to violent diarrhœa (rikhi).

Goats.

The goat is, in some ways, a more valuable animal than a sheep. It is only shorn once a year, and its hair (jatt), of which about three-eighths of a ser is obtained at each shearing, sells at Rs. 10 to Rs. 12 per maund. The she-goat provides milk to the peasants and is in milk for five or six months at least in each year. Goats, too, are commonly killed, by those who can afford it, for human food, and goat's flesh is

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(g) Agricultural Stock—

Goats.

preferred, as a rule to mutton. Goat's hair makes excellent ropes and is used for horses' nose-bags. A good milking she-goat sometimes sells for as much as Rs. 15, but an ordinary goat will fetch on an average about Rs. 6 to Rs. 8. Two breeds are recognized, *viz.*, the desi or common goat, and the barpari. The latter is reddish in colour, very lightly built and provided with good horns. Goats of this breed are said to be obtained originally by putting a chinkára to a she-goat. The goat is a voracious feeder, and is especially destructive to young trees. In the early spring it gets fodder, and when disparaging a 'Jack-in-office,' the people say: 'Dhai dihåre Chetr de, kudde bakarwár' (The goatherd leaps in his pride for two and a half days in Chetr). The goat is subject to much the same diseases as sheep.

Disease and the work of the Civil Veterinary Department.

The most common contagious diseases among cattle are foot and mouth disease, rinderpest and hæmorrhagic septicæmia. The two latter are controlled by the inoculation of cattle with protective *sera*, and, thanks to the activities of the Civil Veterinary Department, the prejudices of cattle owners against this form of prevention have largely disappeared. The Department now regularly receives applications from zamíndárs for the vaccination of their cattle previous to the rainy season when outbreaks of hæmorrhagic septicæmia generally occur. The veterinary work of the district is under the control of the Superintendent, Civil Veterinary Department, South Punjab, whose headquarters are at Ferozepore. There are six veterinary hospitals, one at each tahsíl headquarters, each in charge of a qualified Veterinary Assistant. In addition to their hospital duties Veterinary Assistants tour in the villages for the treatment and prevention of contagious diseases and for the supply of medicines for sick animals which cannot be conveniently brought to the nearest hospital. While much remains to be done to place remedial and preventive facilities at the disposal of cattle owners, marked progress has taken place during recent years and scientific methods are growing in popularity among the people. The Civil Veterinary Department is also doing much to encourage cattle breeding by the supply of good bulls and the castration of poor ones, by the dissemination of sound ideas and by practical assistance and advice on the occasion of cattle fairs.

Stock-breeding.

A District Stock-breeding Association has been formed for the purpose of improving the breeds of all kinds of domesticated animals. There are a District Committee with the Deputy Commissioner as President, Tahsíl Committees with the Tahsíldár as President of each and Zail Sub-Committees appointed by the Tahsíldár. The fee for membership is Re. 1 per annum. The money is collected in the zails, banked at the tahsíls and managed by the Tahsíl Committees. It is used to provide prizes and fodder at cattle

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Agriculture.
(g) Agricultural Stock—
Stock-breeding.

fairs and bulls and stallions in the villages. Nine horse and cattle fairs have been established, six of which occur in March and April, and three in the autumn. The District Board arranges these fairs and takes 2 per cent. on all sales of animals at the fairs. The Stock-breeding Association works hand in hand with the District Board and the latter has discontinued the purchase of Hissar bulls in order to devote its funds to aiding the horse and cattle fairs, giving premiums for the best animals of whatever stock, and paying the salaries of two touring Veterinary Assistants whose work is to castrate all the unfit male cattle and horses. A considerable number of animals have been treated this way and interest in the work has grown. The movement is however still in its infancy.

In anticipation of an increased demand for stud bulls in the different districts of the Province Government has leased lands for cattle-breeding farms to a number of grantees. The breeding operations on these grantee farms, of which there are two in this district located at Jehángírábad and Jehánián, are under the control of the Civil Veterinary Department. At Jehángírábád farm, the area of which is over 4,000 acres, a herd of the Montgomery breed is maintained comprising 8 bulls and 500 cows. The area of the Jehánián farm is 3,800 acres on which a Montgomery herd of 3 bulls and 125 cows is maintained. Surplus male and female young stock bred on these farms are distributed at concession rates to approved cattle breeders in the districts.

(h) System of Irrigation.

A description of various systems of cultivation has been given in an earlier portion of this chapter. The main sources of irrigation are from canals alone, from canals and wells combined and from wells alone.

Wells.

In the Khánewál tahsíl, wells are found only in the strip of land bordering the Rávi which does not receive canal irrigation and even there many of them are falling into disuse. In the other tahsíls they are an essential part of the agricultural system and it is to the large increase from 19,343 to 26,576 wells between the third and fourth settlements that a considerable part of the great improvement in rural conditions must be ascribed.

The only form of well found in this district is that known as the 'Persian wheel' well. It is generally made of masonry but occasionally in the river lands (more especially on the Chenáb) the masonry extends only as far as the water level, and in such cases the well is known as a 'Kharora'. Kachha wells, made entirely without masonry, are very uncommon.

The value of a well depends on the quality of the water, on its depth from the surface and on the continuity of the supply. Wells are occasionally found in which the water

(h) System of Irrigation—

Wells.

is brackish (khára) and unfit for drinking. A marked line of such wells extends, more or less continuously, from Dunyápur in the centre of the district to Jalálpur Pírwála in the south-west. When a brackish well is fully aided by canal water, the brackishness has no serious effect on the crops, but if the crops depend on such a well alone without further help, they are apt to suffer considerably.

The depth of the well depends mainly on its distance from the river; and as the whole of the district is within reasonable distance of the river, we do not find any wells of extraordinary depth, although those in the centre of the bár tract are deep enough and in the Ráwa Circle of the Mailsi tahsíl are as deep as 52 feet. The average figures for the district are shown in the margin.

	Average depth of water.
Hithár	15
Utár and Sidhnai ...	24
Ráwa	37

The third requisite in a well is the constancy of the supply afforded by the subsoil water. There is everywhere a stratum of water-giving sand, which is known as the *sachh*, and which it is the object of the well-sinker to reach. As he goes down below the surface, the first water he meets is a trickling and dirty moisture, which is known as *somán*, and which is of a fluctuating character. The real permanent supply (or 'shauh páni' as it is called) is found in the *sachh* only, and the diver knows by examining the soil which he brings out whether he has reached the desired stratum or not.

The agriculturist about to build a well first chooses a suitable spot, if possible a little above the level of the area he wishes to irrigate. He then traces the circle of the well, and he sets the labourers to work, under the supervision of the village carpenter, to dig the cylinder or '*bhár*' down to the water level. The wooden base of the brick-work (known as *talwang*) is then hoisted in with the aid of a large crowd of neighbours and fixed in its place at the bottom. On this the brick-work is carefully built up, the bricks being joined with mud (gára) instead of mortar, and the masonry cylinder is completed to the level of the ground or to a height of some three or four feet above the level of the ground. On to this cylinder is then attached an apparatus known as the *pal*, which consists of transverse sticks and thick ropes of twisted *sar* grass (called 'wat') arranged so as to hold the earth taken up from the well and to act as a heavy weight to depress the masonry cylinder. The driver or tobi now begins his operations; working with a huge mattock (*kahi*) attached to a rope, which he from time to time fixes into the subsoil, and which is in turn withdrawn and hauled to the top of the well. The diver's work is exceedingly hard

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Agriculture.

(1) System of Irrigation—

Wells.

owing to the physical strength required and the cold dampness of the air he has to live in, but he is fed on the best during his term of labour. As he works, the cylinder slowly subsides until it reaches the true water stratum, which is generally some 10 to 15 feet below the place where it first touched the water. The *pal* is then removed, and the *nál* or cylinder is completed by the addition of the *gadohar* or upper portion and the *gal*, which is the portion projecting above the ground.

The well cylinder, if carefully constructed and made with good bricks, lasts for an unlimited length of time; and *dals* or old disused wells of previous centuries are often dug out again and made fit for use at small expense. A good well will need cleaning out once in every five years or so; a bad one oftener. This is done by attaching a rope and mattock to a revolving arrangement in the form of a capstan (known as a dol or urá), by which the extraneous silt at the bottom of the well is gradually cleared out. A well, however, is subject to various forms of disrepair and weakness, and when suffering from these is spoken of as being ill (bímár). If the original sinking was not carried to the right point, the well soon begins to run short of water (chora ho vendá). If the bricks at the side of the cylinder begin to give way; the well's 'waist' is said to break (kamr trut vendí); or if a large hole is formed in the cylinder, an outlet is said to be formed (morí nakal paí): in such cases the damage is known as bhattha (bhattha pai gaí). To avert disaster from such accidents, it is usual to insert a wooden cylinder fitting closely inside the circle of the well, and some six to ten feet in height; if laid below the tilwang to prevent the intrusion of sand, the framework is known as a *'kothi'*; if laid above the tilwang to support the sides of the masonry cylinder, it is known as a *ghanda*. Such a framework may keep a well going for ten or twelve years longer; but to use a well repaired is proverbially looked on as the equivalent of wearing old clothes that have been stitched together.

The wood-work of the well (chob chakkal) is constructed in the same way as in the rest of the Punjab, though the nomenclature in some respects varies. The chief parts of the framework are the horizontal wheel (chakkal), the vertical pole on which it revolves (hurjal), the horizontal beams below and above those (bhurní and kánjan), the pillars on which the upper beam rests (munnán), the seat on which the driver sits (gádhí), the shaft connecting the two wheels (lath), the vertical wheel (chakli), the vertical apparatus for drawing up the water (bair), the ropes (mahl), the sticks connecting the ropes (rerían), the earthen pots (lote), the wooden projection to keep the ropes in its place (sútarlar); the cog (tháka), the splash-board to prevent earth from falling

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into the well (chaman), the small conduit into which the pots pour the water (parchha), the longer conduit which takes the water further into the cistern (nisár), the log on which this conduit rests (jhal) and the cistern into which it pours the water (khádá).

Wells.

The area irrigated by a well varies a good deal, not only according to the state of the well cylinder, but also according to the amount of aid received from canals or sailáb, and according to the degree to which the soil retains moisture. The average areas matured in a year from a well in each circle in the district are as recorded below:—

Per well in use.	Hithár.	Utár.	Ráwa.	Sidhnai.
Acres matured ...	20	20	18	21

The rate at which well irrigation can be carried on of course varies immensely, but a normal rate of irrigation would seem to be a little over one-fourth of an acre of ploughed land in twenty-four hours, the well being worked hard all the time. Wheat irrigated during winter by an ordinary well probably receives water at the rate of some three or four days to the acre.

Canals.

The Government canals of the district are—

(*i*) The old inundation canals.

(*ii*) The Hájiwah Canal.

(*iii*) The Sidhnai Canal.

(*iv*) The Lower Bári Doáb Canal.

(*i*) *The old Inundation Canals.*

For the history of the inundation canals and their condition at different times the reader is referred to—

(*a*) A report prepared by Mr. Morris, Settlement Officer, in 1895;

(*b*) Appendix I of the Completion Report (1895) of the Multan Canals;

(*c*) Appendix B of the 1884 Edition of this Gazetteer, and

(*d*) Chapter V, Section C, of the 1902 Edition.

All the inundation canals are, comparatively speaking, of recent formation, the most ancient of them not having been dug much more than 200 years ago. They would appear to owe their existence to the drying up of the Beas and to the change in the course of the river Rávi which rendered it incumbent on the inhabitants to devise some other mode of providing water for their lands.

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Canals.

The management and control of the canals is entirely in the hands of Government, and all the main canals owe their origin to the direct or indirect support of the Government in power for the time being; some having been dug by the former rulers of the country, and others by powerful zamíndárs or associated village communities aided by Government. The majority of the Chenáb canals were made by the Pathans when holding the position of rulers in Multán and Shujábád; whilst those on the Sutlej were chiefly dug by the Daudputras, a powerful tribe, who on the extinction of the Moghal power completed the conquest of this part of the country, and continued in possession until its acquisition by Ranjít Singh. One of the largest, however, of the Sutlej canals—the Diwánwah of tahsíl Mailsi—was excavated by Diwán Sáwan Mal, who also enlarged and improved several others, and showed great liberality in making grants for the re-excavation and improvement of the canals in general.

Sixty years ago there were thirty-four canals of which twenty issued from the Sutlej and fourteen from the Chenáb; but this number had fallen to nine only in 1900 and a further reduction to seven had been effected before the 4th Settlement by the linking up of different canals. The advantages thus gained and the general character of the different canals at the 4th Settlement are briefly described in the following account:—

The Chenab System of Canals.

The Matital.

The Matital which takes out a few miles below the junction of the Rávi and Chenáb is the least satisfactory of the Chenáb canals of the district. Its head has been frequently changed and, although the one now in use is fairly satisfactory, there is, of course, no certainty that it will not be cut away. Of late years, in comparison with other Chenáb canals, Matital has opened from two or three days to two or three weeks later and has closed some six to fourteen days earlier. About the 15th of May is the normal time of opening, but during the past three years it has been well behind this date; it rarely runs later than the 20th of September and frequently closes earlier. Cotton is an uncertain crop which has usually to be matured with the aid of well water, and canal sowings of wheat are subject to large variations from year to year. The chief nahri crops in the kharíf are jowár and til, while in the rabi as much wheat as possible is sown with canal water and matured by the wells.

The Durána Langána and Wali Mohammad.

The Durána Langána canal and the Wali Mohammad canal with its branches have a common head. They separate at the Bosan Regulator about 14 miles distant and flow in a south-westerly direction through the Multán tahsíl, giving irrigation in each of the five assessment circles and continuing beyond the Shujábád boundary in which tahsíl a

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The Durana Langána and Wali Mohammad.

few villages only obtain water. They irrigate on both sides, but the Government distributaries take off from the western bank. The Wali Mohammad irrigates much the same villages as at the third Settlement, but in 1903 the Durána Langána was extended to the extreme south of the tahsíl; new distributaries were made and the area commanded by it was largely increased. Irrigation from it is fairly satisfactory, but is not so good as on the Wali Mohammad.

Sekundarábád.

The third Chenáb canal is the Sekundarábád with its head ten miles below that of the Wali Mohammad. It flows south-west through the Multán Hithár irrigating on both sides, but mainly on the west; near Sher Shah it sends off the Gajjuhatta canal from which the Upper and Lower Bakhtuwah and the Panjáni branches take off lower down. The Gajjuhatta and its main branch, the Panjáni, had formerly separate heads, but these were amalgamated with the Sekundarábád soon after the third Settlement and the upper branches of the latter were deepened and widened in order to provide for the combined supply necessary. At times of full supply the main canal and its branches run simultaneously, but at the beginning and end of the season, and in poor years at other times also, they run by rotation. Irrigators complain that they have suffered in consequence but their complaints will not bear investigation. Both the Gajjuhatta and Panjáni formerly took off much lower down the river and one necessary result of the amalgamation has been to give better command. At the same time, the regulator below Sher Shah allows the best use being made of what water is available. Instead of a low supply in three separate canals, a good supply is given in turn to each of the branches and the greater efficiency of the supply while it lasts more than compensates for its shorter duration. The linking up of the various systems has been accompanied by the gradual introduction of pakka outlets and of regular distribution by means of chakbandi, which though not complete is much more extensive than 20 years ago. At the same time, Government minors and distributaries have replaced zamíndári channels. As on the Sutlej canals, a necessary incident of these changes has been the reduction of the excessive supplies formerly taken by the big men, and there is no doubt that, when chakbandi was first adopted, the reductions in some villages were drastic. Where the curtailment was excessive, it has generally been revised, but the net result of the changes has been to benefit the small rather than the large owner who has had to economise in the use of water. In the Utar, Ráwa and Hithár Chenáb of the Shujábád tahsíl there are some very powerful Hindu owners and it is from them that complaints are most common. The other side of the question is rarely advanced, but occasionally small owners who have to irrigate from the

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same channel as their more powerful neighbours will give a graphic account of what happens when distribution is not controlled. In the Multán tahsíl, there are no Government minors on the Sekundarábád, nor are these necessary as the villages commanded generally lie close to the canal; in the Shujábád tahsíl, the distributaries and minors are fairly numerous, but are not so extensive as on the Sutlej canals in this and the Lodhrán tahsíl. There are still some private channels, but they do not compare in length and depth with those of the Mailsi tahsíl.

The Sekundarábád is at present (1920) the best of the Chenáb canals. It has an excellent head; it generally opens a few days earlier and closes a few days later than the Walí Mohammad, and the villages on it are, with few exceptions, well commanded. The soil in the majority of them is good and many of those situated in the Hithár also benefit from their proximity to the river.

Bilochánwah.

The fourth Chenáb canal is the Bilochánwah which serves some twenty villages towards the south of the Hithár Chenáb in Shujábád. It opens late and closes early and little kharíf crops are grown on it. The rabi is generally good and the villages on it, though not first class, are above average.

Effect of the Triple Canal Project.

The Triple Canal Project by drawing off supplies of water higher up the river has had an adverse effect on the canals above described, though information is not available from which the extent of the harm done can be accurately measured. A comparison of the dates of opening and closure would seem to show that the canals open rather later, but, on the other hand, close a few days later than in the years preceding the triple project. The value of the river as a source of supply is less than it was, but the loss on this account has been partly made good by the more efficient utilization of available supplies. The deterioration is most serious in bad years, when late openings substantially reduce the areas under indigo and cotton, and early closures affect the yield of cotton and rice and curtail the rabi sowings.

The Sutlej System of Canals.

(a) The Mailsi Canals.

In 1903 several inundation canals were linked up so as to form the Mailsi canal, the various branches of which have now a common head. The regulator and escape are situated at Islámdeh and for some fourteen miles below this there is little irrigation on either side. At Karampur, the Diwánwah takes off, striking north-west and irrigating a large portion of the Utar and a few villages in the Ráwa. Other branches on the right bank in this tahsíl are the Jámwah Khurd, the Jámwah Kalán and the Chattarwah, On the left bank, there are Government minors only in

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(a) The Mailsi canals.

the south-west corner of the tahsíl, but from Karampur onwards are direct outlets through which water reaches the fields *viâ* zamíndári channels. The linking up of the various independent units has enabled the Irrigation Department to control supply down the branches, and to the consequent curtailment of wastage must mainly be attributed the extension of the irrigated area that has occurred. The villages that have gained most are those on the south of the main canal, in many of which the irrigated area has doubled or trebled since the third Settlement. The estates lying below the middle of the branches have also benefited, but not quite to the same extent. The advantage to the tail villages is more doubtful, and on the Diwánwah—which was the main canal—it is probable that some estates have suffered. On the whole, unification has conferred immense benefit to the tahsíl. The full advantage has not, however, been reaped owing to inadequate control over the internal distribution. There is no proper system of outlets, no regular chakbandi as the term is understood on the Sidhnai and perennial canals, and no effective means of adjusting the supply to local requirements. Except in the south-west corner of the tahsíl, there are no Government minors. Owners of land have to bring the water from the canal branch along private kassís and from them to the fields along small water-channels or paggus. Co-operative ownership and clearance of kassís within a single estate is fairly common, and in some cases several adjacent villages have provided jointly for their requirements. But the ordinary system is for each village, and often for each large owner in a village, to have a separate kassí, so that the extraordinary spectacle is seen of three or four channels running parallel to each other and separated by a few yards only. These channels are often of considerable length—a lead of 8 or 10 miles being by no means uncommon—and their banks are of great height, the silt clearance of each year being thrown on them without any attempt to economise future labour by a little levelling. Quite apart from the rise in the cost of labour, the continual tendency is, therefore, for the silt clearances to become more expensive. For these the owner is responsible, the tenant's liability being confined to the very ordinary clearance of the paggus or field channels.

From the attached statement it will be seen that the duration of supplies from the Mailsi canal fluctuates from year to year, but that of late years the variations from the normal have been relatively small. The total number of days during which water is available in the year is only one factor which affects the harvest. The dates at which the water commences and ceases to run are better guides to the nature of the canal year, and if these be taken as a criterion, it will be seen that no two years are alike. Comparing the year 1903-04

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(a) The Mailsi Canals.

to 1909-10 with the last eight years a distinct tendency is apparent for the canal to open later and to close later:—

Year.	Mailsi Canal.		
	Date of opening.	Date of closure.	No. of days canal was running during year.
1903-04 ...	7th May 1903 ...	4th November 1903 ...	182
1904-05 ...	15th April 1904 ...	3rd December 1904 ...	283
1905-06 ...	19th April 1905 ...	6th December 1905 ...	232
1906-07 ...	18th April 1906 ...	3rd November 1906 ...	200
1907-08 ...	24th April 1907 ...	26th October 1907 ...	186
1908-09 ...	22nd April 1908 ...	14th November 1908 ...	207
1909-10 ...	27th April 1909 ...	4th October 1909 ...	161
1910-11 ...	27th May 1910 ...	23rd October 1910 ...	150
1911-12 ...	30th April 1911 ...	6th December 1911 ...	221
1912-13 ...	1st April 1912 ...	5th January 1912 ...	280
1913-14 ...	17th May 1913 ...	4th December 1913 ...	202
1914-15 ...	18th April 1914 ...	20th November 1914 ...	217
1915-16 ...	13th May 1915 ...	4th December 1915 ...	206
1916-17 ...	4th June 1916 ...	20th December 1916 ...	200
1917-18 ...	29th April 1917 ...	13th November 1917 ...	199
1918-19 ...	9th June 1918 ...	3rd December 1918 .	178

(b) The Mohammadwah Sardárwah.

These two canals which were formerly separate have now a common head at Hassu Jiya and flow in one channel for about 8 miles, then branching at Shahpur and taking a north-westerly direction in almost parallel lines. They irrigate mainly in the Lodhrán tahsíl, but give water to a few villages of Shujábád. They have been considerably improved of late years and are now efficient.

The Baháwalwah. Lodhrán.

This canal takes off from the Kotla creek which 20 years ago was in the main stream of the river. A change in the course of the latter so adversely affected the supply that about 1910 a feeder channel was dug connecting with the Sardárwah. At the beginning and end of the season the

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canal has the benefit of surplus water from the Sardárwah, but, although this has done much to remedy the evils resulting from a defective head, the canal remained for some years the least satisfactory of the Sutlej system. A recent change in the river has, however, much improved matters.

The chief differences between inundation and perennial canals.

The essential difference between perennial and inundation canals is the dependence of the latter on the natural water level in the river being higher than the bed level of the canal head. The uncertainty which this dependence involves is a factor of great importance in the system of cultivation which, as already explained, has to be adjusted from year to year in accordance with the supply of the rivers. The limited and varying period during which the canals flow makes an auxiliary form of irrigation practically essential so that the success of the inundation canals is inseparably associated with the number and efficiency of the wells sunk in the canal areas.

The equitable distribution of water is complicated by several factors. The constant variation in supplies, the incompleteness of the system of *rájbahas* and minors, the number of direct outlets, the liability of deterioration to, or even complete failure of the head owing to silt deposits or a sudden change in the course of the river—all militate against efficient distribution, and, although much has been done during the past twenty-five years to remove remediable defects, the elements of insecurity are still great. Again, there is necessarily much waste of water. The long zamíndári channels, found in their worst form in the Mailsi tahsíl, are most uneconomic, while the lack of certainty regarding the duration of supplies often results in the cultivator failing to use the water to the best advantage. In any case, in view of the early closure of the canals, he has to use more water per acre for rabi sowings than on the perennial canals.

Occupiers' rates.

Under native rule and for many years of British administration a source of still greater economic waste was the system of *chher* or statutory labour by which silt clearances were done. For a description of this system reference may be made to Chapter V of the last edition of this Gazetteer. It was abolished at the Third Regular Settlement and the reform then effected was justly described by Mr. Maclagan as the most important economic change which the district had undergone during the previous thirty years. The substitution of occupiers' rates for compulsory labor was very unpopular when first made; but no one would now revert to the old methods. In fact, with the demand for tenants in the canal colonies, cultivators on the inundation canals would not be obtainable if they had to carry out the whole of the silt clearances. The occupiers' rates

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introduced at the Third Settlement were not heavy and the enhancement (25 per cent.) taken at the Fourth Settlement was intentionally kept low so that the tenant problem might not be aggravated and as little disturbance as possible occur in rents. The sanctioned schedule of rates is as follows:—

Class.	Crop.	Rate per acre.	
		Flow.	Lift.
		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
I	Rice, gardens, pepper, and sugarcane.	3 0 0	2 4 0
II	Cotton, til	2 4 0	1 11 0
III	Other kharif crops	1 12 0	1 5 0
IV	Rabi crops	1 2 0	0 13 0

It applies to the Chenáb and Sutlej systems.

(ii) The Hajiwah Canal.

The Hájiwah canal owes its origin to the enterprise of a Khákwáni Pathán, Ghulam Mustafa Khan, who was one of Sáwan Mal's kárdárs, and afterwards tahsíldár of Mailsi. In the Regular Settlement he held the contract for the revenue on the 'bár' lands in the east of the tahsíl, and, with the sanction of Government, built the Hájiwah canal to irrigate a portion of those lands. At the Second Settlement, his son, Ghulám Kádir Khan, received from Government in proprietary right a tract of 60,000 acres irrigated by the canal, and the grant was formally confirmed by a deed executed in 1886.

In 1888 Ghulám Kádir Khan died, leaving four sons and unfortunate family disputes were followed by serious mismanagement of the canal. In December 1888 it was placed by the civil court in charge of the Deputy Commissioner, and shortly afterwards the Government took over the canal on the authority of a clause in the deed of 1886. Between 1890 and 1892 it was administered as a provincial work, but in 1892 it was transferred to the Imperial Head, and since that date the accounts of the Hájiwah canal have been amalgamated with those of the other Sutlej inundation canals of the district. The Government administration of the canal was contested by the three younger sons of Ghulám Kádir Khan and the suit was finally decided by the Privy Council in 1901. The bed of the canal was

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declared to be the property of the four sons of Ghulám Kádir Khan, but in other respects the Government was left unfettered in its action. The canal is still under the management of Government, but the owners enjoy certain privileges of which the most important is the limitation of water rates to the cost of clearance and management. The latest orders of Government are summarised below:—

I.—On all irrigation, within the original grant of land made in the year 1880 to the late Ghulám Kádir Khan, of lands, the proprietary right in which is, or may hereafter become vested—

(a) in the sons or the lineal descendants of the said Ghulám Kádir Khan, or

(b) in Mian Muhammad Khan or Háfiz Muhammad Afzal Khan, the nephews of the said Ghulám Kádir Khan or their lineal descendants,

the rate per acre actually matured whether in the kharíf or rabi shall be limited to the following rates, namely:—

	Rs. A. P.	
Flow	0 12 0	per acre.
Lift	0 9 0	..

II.—On all lands other than those mentioned in Rule I above, the following water charges will be levied:—

Class.	Crop.	Rates per acre.	
		Flow.	Lift.
		Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
I	Rice, garden, pepper and sugarcane.	3 0 0	2 4 0
II	Cotton and til	2 4 0	1 11 0
III	Other kharíf crops	1 12 0	1 5 0
IV	Rabi crops	1 2 0	0 13 0

III.—With effect from kharíf 1919 a quinquennial settlement of accounts will be made with the Kháns so as to adjust any difference between (a) the proportional cost of clearance and management debitable to the Kháns' own lands, and (b) the total amount of the water rates recovered from them. The relations of the Kháns will pay the same water rates as the Kháns, but they will not be entitled to any refund of the excess of the proceeds of the water rates

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over the cost of clearance and management nor will the Kháns in the future be entitled to such excess, so far as the lands of their relations are concerned.

IV.—In calculating the cost of clearance and management for the purposes of (*a*) above some addition should be made to represent the proportionate share of overhead charges. The Kháns will at the end of the first five years be entitled to any excess there may be in (*b*) over (*a*) during the quinquennium and the rate for the following quinquennium should be fixed so as to make (*a*) and (*b*) as nearly as possible equivalent.

(iii) The Sidhnai Canal.

The history of this canal is given in full in the Completion Report (1894) prepared by Mr. T. Higham, from which it appears that the first proposal for a canal from the Sidhnai reach of the river Rávi was made by Lieutenant (afterwards Colonel) J. Anderson, R.E., Superintendent, Inundation Canals. The proposal was to re-open as 'a navigable canal of irrigation' a channel known as the old Rávi extending from the town of Sarai Sidhu to Multán, to be supplied by means of a dam across the Rávi at the upstream end of the straight and permanent reach known as the 'Sidhnai' which extends for 7 miles below Tulamba. The Bári Doáb canal was at that time designed to terminate at or near Tulamba, and it was supposed that the tract intervening between the terminus and Multán might eventually be irrigated by means of some such canal as had been proposed by Lieutenant Anderson. The question was first regularly investigated in the course of the surveys of the Lower Bári Doáb undertaken in 1870—75, in the last of which years two alternate estimates were submitted by Mr. E. C. Palmer for a permanent and for an inundation canal from the Sidhnai reach which amounted to Rs. 16,68,317 and Rs. 5,85,289, respectively, exclusive of indirect charges. The project, however, remained in abeyance owing to the increased expenditure on other large schemes then in progress, and to the doubts that were entertained as to the reliability of the data on which these estimates were based.

In 1882 the Government of India invited the Punjab Government to submit proposals for new Irrigation Works to be constructed out of loan funds, and the scheme for the Sidhnai canal was then reconsidered, with the result that a General Estimate, amounting to Rs. 7,74,480, was forwarded to the Government of India in 1883, to which sanction was accorded in 1884. The work for the most part was carried out by Mr. MacLean, Executive Engineer, and by his assistant Mr. Johnston. Work was started in December 1883, and the canal was opened for irrigation on

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the 27th May 1886, in the kharif of which year 5,976 acres were matured, which were followed by 20,479 in the succeeding rabi making a total area of 26,455 acres of crops brought to maturity in the first year after opening. The canal as originally designed was practically completed in the following year, when the irrigated area rose to 75,284 acres, although in the estimate of 1883 the maximum area anticipated after the irrigation had been fully developed was 48,000 acres only.

Subsidiary Canals.

The success of the canal was thus immediate and complete, but during the course of its construction it was found necessary to propose a slight extension of the scope of project. As early as 1884 the zamíndárs of the villages situated on the right and left banks of the Rávi below the site of the weir, then under construction, took alarm, and submitted petitions regarding the probable effect of the new channel on their existing irrigation from the river, which was effected from open cuts in the banks. The question was promptly investigated and it was found that these cuts were placed at such a high level that they were only effective when the river was in high flood, at which times they would be practically unaffected by the canal works. It appeared probable, however, that there might be some decrease in the area below the weir, which had previously been covered by high floods, and that the prosperity of the villages concerned would be affected by the emigration of the cultivators to the more favoured tracts commanded by the new canal; and as it was undesirable that these villages, which were not at their best in a very flourishing condition, should be reduced to greater straits by the opening of the Sidhnai canal, it was proposed to provide irrigation for such of their lands as could be commanded by two subsidiary canals taking out from the right and left banks above the weir. It was, at the same time, pointed out that a third canal might be usefully taken out from the left bank of the river about 3½ miles above the weir which would command a small tract that could not be reached from the Sidhnai canal. Estimates were accordingly prepared for—

1st, the Kuranga canal, to take out from the right flank of the Sidhnai weir;

2nd, the Fazal Shah canal, to take out from the left flank of the weir, and between it and the head of the Sidhnai canal;

3rd, the Abdul Hakim canal, to take out from the left bank of the river, about 3½ miles above the weir.

The Kuranga and Fazal Shah canals were opened for irrigation in the months of June and July 1890, respectively,

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and the Abdul Hakim in the kharíf of the following year. Since then several small extensions of the canal and its distributaries have been made.

Head-works.

The headworks of the canal consists of a weir built right across the channel of the river and at right angles to its axis, the distance between the right and left flank walls being 737·5 feet, and the actual width of the Sidhnai reach at this point being about 800 feet. The crest of the weir is at the general level of the river bed, or R. L. 453·5, the level of the floor of the canal regulator immediately above it being 1 foot higher, or R. L. 454·5. The weir is divided into 32 bays of 20 feet each by piers 7·5 feet in height and 3 feet in width. The tops of these piers are connected at their upstream ends by timber beams 18 inches in width and 12 inches deep, and the vents thus formed are closed by wooden needles placed nearly vertically, so that their lower ends abut against the crest of the weir, while they are supported at the upper ends by the beams over the piers.

Uncertainty of supply.

The Sidhnai differs from the inundation canals of the Chenáb and Sutlej in that it possesses a weir, and it differs from the perennial canals because its supply is more liable to fail at critical seasons of the year. The strict rule governing the distribution of water is that the main canal has the prior claim the surplus being first divided between the Kuranga and Fazal Shah and the balance going to the Abdul Hakim. In practice, the rule is not rigorously enforced, but even so, the subsidiaries often fare badly compared with the Sidhnai proper and, on the average, the duration of their supplies is from 88 to 97 days less than on the main canal.

The nature of the supply varies much from year to year, but it may be said generally that there is adequate water for the kharíf, and, except in very bad years, for rabi sowings; in three years out of five, the supply extends to a further watering in the rabi; in one year out of five it continues throughout the cold weather; and in another year the canal opens sufficiently early to help the maturing of the rabi crops. The conditions, though markedly superior to those on the inundation canals, are still uncertain, since the supply is apt to fail when most needed. The consequences of failure are, however, less serious than formerly, owing to the large increase in the number of wells. The canal irrigates the greater portion of Kabírwála and a considerable portion of Multán, and in both tahsíls the area served by it compares favourably in every way with the area dependent on the inundation canals. This superiority is due mainly to better supply, but also, in part, to better control and distribution, which approximate closely to conditions

on the perennial canals. There is as yet no good reason to suppose that the Lower Bári Doáb canal has adversely affected the Sidhnai. The present working arrangement is that the latter canal should receive 3,400 cusecs subject to a minimum of 700 cusecs being available below Balloki. This allowance was fixed after full consideration of the requirements of the canal, and it is probable that it will suffice for present needs, although it leaves little, if any, surplus for further extension of the irrigated area.

Colonisation.

The greater portion of the area commanded was, prior to the construction of the canal, Government waste, which in the absence of water could not be profitably brought under cultivation, and from which only an insignificant revenue was realized in the form of grazing dues. While the canal officers were engaged in providing water for this considerable area, the duty of introducing colonists into the waste lands and making suitable arrangements for the new settlements devolved on the civil officers. A similar duty was simultaneously imposed on them in connection with the new Sohág-Pára canal, which was also under construction at the same time; but the settlement of both these comparatively small tracts was but a prelude to the colonisation, on a far larger scale, of the vast area of the Crown waste which was afterwards to be undertaken on the Chenáb canal. The great importance of these pioneer experiments was from the first fully realized by the late Colonel Wace, who, as Financial Commissioner, took a deep personal interest in the scheme, the general principles and main details of which were formulated by him on so sound a basis that as regards the Sidhnai canal, success had been assured even before his death in 1889. The colonisation of the waste lands covered by the original scheme was carried out from first to last by Major Hutchinson, Deputy Commissioner of Multán. The lands were, for the most part, given out in 90-acre plots, and of the new lessees about half came from districts other than Multán. The immigrants included Kambohs and Aráin Játs from Chunián, Bhadechás from Amritsar, Rájpúts from Jullundur, etc., and the colonisation of this canal is noteworthy as the first successful instance in the history of the province of the transfer of considerable bodies of agriculturists from the Central Punjab to other and less thickly populated tracts. The terms on which the lessees on this canal have at various times obtained their grants are described in Chapter I, Section 2, Vol. I, of the Colony Manual.

Financial results.

Owing to the relatively small cost of construction and the very short lead through which the supply has to be carried before irrigation commences, the canal has always

CHAPTER II. A.

Agriculture.

(*A*) System of Irrigation—

Financial results.

given a very high financial return, the figures for the last few years being as follows:—

1919-20	...	40·05	net return in capital cost.
1920-21	...	17·65	,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
1921-22	...	4·68	,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
1922-23	...	44·54	,, ,, ,, ,, ,,

The year 1922-23 was the first in which the last revision of the assessment was operative.

The canal has not wanted its sacred bard, as the following verses from a poem by one Wazíra, Máchhi, of Zorkot, will show:—

The canal sung in verse.

Wáh nahr ajúbi ái ...	...	Wah, the wonderful canal has come.
Páni piwan sab Khudái ...	...	All God's people will receive water.
Ah Lát Sáhib ki Akhbari ...	...	The Lieutenant-Governor's order came.
Nawín nahr di karo tiyári	...	Build a new canal.
Nahín to mardi hai khalkat sári	...	Else all the folk will die.
Minhan kiti he bewafái ...	...	The rains have played us false.
Wah nahr ajúbi ái ...	...	Wah, the wonderful canal has come.
Raj Kháwin sab Khudái ...	...	All God's people will eat their full.
Charh Jánson Sáhib jo áya	...	Johnston Sahib came.
Jis ne nahr kún khatáya	...	Who had the canal dug.
Kul mihntián rajj kháya	...	All the workers ate their full.
Zalin mardán tokri chái ...	...	Women and men lifted baskets.
Wah nahr ajúbi ái ...	...	Wah, the wonderful canal has come.
Páni píwan sab Khudái ...	...	All God's people will receive water.
Páni Kukarhatta nún áya	...	The water came to Kukarhatta.
Jithe Sáhib bangla pawáya	...	Where the Sáhib built a bungalow.
Zilládár makán banáya ...	...	Zilládárs constructed houses.
Kánúngoán kitáb khindhái	...	Kánúngos opened their books.
Wah nahr ajúbi ái ...	...	Wah, the wonderful canal has come.
Rajj kháwin sab Khudái ...	...	All God's people will eat their full.

Considerations of space prevent the quotation of the whole poem, which paints in a most vivid manner the impression made by the canal on the people, and their joys and troubles during the early days of the new irrigation.

Private canals.

The only private canal properly so-called in the district is the Ghulámwah in the Mailsi tahsíl, which was excavated from time to time between the First and Second Regular Settlements by Ghulám Muhammad, Daulatána of Luddan, whose lineal descendants are the owners of the canal. The greater part of the land irrigated is owned by the owners of the canal, and on this the rents taken vary according as the tenant does or does not give 'chher'. Other landowners who use water pay a canal charge of 10 annas per acre matured for flow irrigation and 8 annas per acre for lift irrigation. In addition, they are liable for chher at the rate of

(*h*) System of Irrigation—

Private canals.

one man for 96 days for each area of 30 acres irrigated, the acreage of one year determining the 'chher' demand for the next year. If 'chher' is not given, a charge of 8 annas per day is imposed. The fluctuating revenue rate on lands irrigated by the Ghulámwah is 11 annas per acre matured, representing a concession of 8 annas in comparison with the revenue rate for lands irrigated from Government canals. In addition, the owners pay a royalty of Rs. 750 per annum for the use of the river water.

Canal terminology.

It may be useful to note some of the local terms used in connection with the canal arrangements. Land which is easily commanded is spoken of as 'lahu', and land hard to command as 'otar'; these terms are applied also to the water in either case as well as to the land. An aqueduct is called a 'sandla' and an escape 'tal,' a dam or regulator on a canal or large water-course is called 'thokar,' a temporary dam on a small water-course is a 'chhap' and a dam of earthwork at the end of a water-course is a 'sukband'. A large branch of a canal is known as 'lar', a smaller branch as kassi or 'wahi' and the small water-courses as 'paggu'. The head of a canal or water-course is 'mundh' and the tail 'pand'. English terms, such as 'minor', 'regulator', 'escape', 'berm', 'syphon', etc., are also not uncommonly used by the zamíndárs.

(*iv*) *The Lower Bari Doab Canal.*

The headworks of the canal are situated at Balloki in the Lahore district. The canal draws its supplies partly from the Rávi and partly from the Chenáb, the surplus waters of the latter being discharged by the Upper Chenáb Canal into the Rávi just above the Balloki Weir. The area served lies between the Rávi and the old bed of the Beás and consists of a narrow strip 150 miles in length and from 15 to 20 miles in breadth, situated in the Okára and Montgomery tahsíls of the Montgomery District and the Khánewál tahsíl of Multán. So far as the latter tahsíl is concerned, the greater part of the area now irrigated was typical high bár country with very little, if any, cultivation, but with a fair growth of wan, jhand and karíl shrubs. Immediately south of the Rávi, however, there is a belt of low-lying land formerly irrigated from wells and river cuts, part of which now receives water from the canal.

The length of the main canal is 134 miles, and there are 36 major and minor distributaries with a total length of over 1,000 miles. Construction began in 1906 and irrigation in kharíf 1913, the area of Crown waste which will eventually be irrigated being estimated at 1,450,000 acres. For the colony as a whole, about 60 per cent. of the Crown area has been or will be alloted to peasant colonists and the indigenous

CHAPTER II, A — Agriculture. (b) System of irrigation— Canal terminology.

population, and 8 per cent. has been acquired by auction purchasers. The remaining one-third is devoted to special objects which include grants to landed gentry and on service conditions, and for irrigated plantations, horse-runs and cattle farms. The colony is thus lacking to some extent in homogeneity and the absent landlord is the cause of much inconvenience to the administration and a source of economic weakness. On the other hand, the resident colonists include many sturdy peasant cultivators of the best type to be found in the Punjab and the example of industry and enterprise set by them is having a beneficial effect on the indigenous population. The advent of the canal has, moreover, restored to affluence several of the leading families of the district, who were fortunate enough to own land on it or to whom Government has made generous grants.

SECTION B.—RENTS, WAGES AND PRICES.

(a) Rents— Cash rents.

In the five tahsíls outside the new colony 71 per cent. of the cultivated area is tilled by tenants-at-will, but on 3·9 per cent. only of the area are cash rents paid. The only tract where such rents are common is in the immediate neighbourhood of Multán city, where they average the very high value of Rs. 16 per acre matured. In other parts of the district proper they are not sufficiently common for any safe conclusions to be drawn from them regarding the rental value of land; but, so far as a comparison is possible, the detailed statistics collected at settlement show that cash rents have responded to the large rise in the value of agricultural produce and that they indicate a very substantial increase in the profits of owners of land. They fail as an accurate guide to such profits in general, because they are usually taken on good lands and the tenants are often Hindu lessees who, by the exercise of every careful supervision over their sub-tenants, are able to secure a fair return on the lease-money.

In the Khánewál tahsíl cash rents are paid on less than 1 per cent. of the cultivated area and average Rs. 16-12-0 per acre. Although to some extent the rents paid are speculative, their high level is a very fair criterion of the return which an owner of colony land regards as reasonable when he himself is able neither to till it himself nor personally to supervise the cultivation, or the division of the produce.

In the district as a whole, rents at revenue rates are paid on a very small proportion of the cultivated area and tenants who pay such rates are usually Crown tenants.

Batai rents.

Excluding the Khánewál tahsíl, 66·5 of the cultivated and 92 per cent. of the rented area pays rent in kind. The rate follows the class of cropping and for the same field may therefore vary from harvest to harvest. A field may, for

CHAPTER II. B.

Rents, Wages and Prices.

(a) Rents—

Batai rents.

instance, pay ⅓rd on pure cháhi crops in the rabi; ½ on pure nahri crops in the kharif; and ⅖ths as cháhi-nahri in the following rabi. These variations though not recorded in the village note books are observed in practice throughout the district. Moreover, the customary rates as recorded are to be accepted subject to certain qualifications. In the first place, the dues of the superior proprietor, if any, and of the village menials are always paid from the common heap before the crop is shared between the landlord and tenant. A share of ⅓rd in the name of the landlord does not therefore mean that he obtains that fraction of the whole produce. In the second place, there are certain crops of which he obtains either no share at all or only a nominal share; there are other crops such as wheat in which the tenant is entitled to certain fodder concessions; the owner often advances seed or money to the cultivator without interest and not infrequently he loses his capital; he is responsible for repairs to wells and to the houses of tenants; he may be responsible for the silt clearance of water channels and in the southern tahsils the ordinary custom is that he should clear them; sometimes he pays the occupiers' rates on canal irrigated lands though this is rare. On the other hand, the nominal share he is supposed to receive may be supplemented by extra dues. Formerly dues of this kind were of a varied character, and instances of customary cesses are still found. But the tendency is to allow ancient dues of this sort to lapse and to levy in their place a consolidated surcharge on the owners share in the shape of so many seers per maund of the produce. This practise, though not yet general, has much extended during the past 25 years and is very common on the Sidhnai. The rate varies much from village to village the maximum being 5½ sers per maund and the minimum ½ ser. The more common rates are *3*, *2* and *1* sers per maund.

If no regard be paid to the additions and deductions mentioned above, it may be said that the customary rates of *batai* for different crops are—

Cháhi ⅓rd or ¼th.

Cháhi-nahri ½ or ⅖ th or ⅓rd.

Nahri ½ or ⅖th or ⅓rd.

Sailáb ½ or ⅓rd.

When allowance has been made for other relevant factors the detailed estimates made at Settlement showed that in different tracts the landlord's share varied as follows:—

Cháhi ·23 to ·39 per cent.

Cháhi-nahri ·32 to ·53 per cent.

Nahri ·39 to ·54 per cent.

Sailáb ·38 to ·53 per cent.

CHAPTER II, B.

Rents, Wages and Prices.

Between the 3rd and 4th Settlements, there was little increase in the nominal rates of kind rents, but an appreciable addition to such rents was obtained by the levy of extra dues.

In the Lower Bári Doáb Colony, the usual form of rent is an equal division between the two parties, each taking one-half of the divisible produce and each paying one-half of the land revenue, cesses and occupiers' rates.

(b) Wages.

In Table No. 25, Volume B, comparative figures are given for rates of wages and hire since 1870. These have to be accepted with some caution since, in the case of rural labour, cash wages are usually supplemented by payments in kind, the value of which is difficult to estimate. The census of wages which is now held every five years does, however, furnish fairly reliable material from which conclusions may be drawn, as special care is then taken to eliminate exceptional conditions, to ascertain with accuracy the character and value of the various supplements and to distinguish clearly between urban and rural labour. The last census was held in 1922 when for several reasons wages were at a very high level. Not only did they show the full effects of the war, but they had also been inflated to some extent by the abnormal high prices of food-stuffs current during part of the year 1921. These had necessitated an increase in wages, and, in accordance with normal economic experience, the subsequent fall in the cost of living was more rapid than the decline in wages. To a certain extent, therefore, the figures given below exaggerate the rise in wages, but the exaggeration is small:—

(MULTAN CITY.)

Class of workers.	Annas per diam.		
	Wages Census of 1912.	Wages Census of 1917.	Wages Census of 1922.
Urban Wage Rates.			
Workers in iron and hardware	16	16	32
Brass and copper workers ..	16	16	40
Carpenters	20	22	32
Cotton weavers	6 a 3 p	6	9
Masons and builders ...	20	20	32
General unskilled labour ...	6 to 8	7 to 11	8 to 12
Rural Wage Rates.			
Unskilled labourer by day ...	4 to 6	4 to 8	6½ to 10½
Carpenter by day... ...	12 to 20	10 to 24	16 to 32
Mason by day	16 to 20	12 to 20	20 to 32
Ploughman by month ...	Rs. 6 to Rs. 8	Rs. 6 to Rs. 12	Rs. 8 to Rs. 17

CHAPTER II, B.
Rents, Wages and Prices.

The rates of payment in kind have altered little during the past 25 years; but the cash value has risen in proportion to the rise in the value of agricultural produce.

(c) Prices.

The chief guide to prices is supplied by the harvest prices as recorded in the circle note-books. Generally speaking it may be said that large landlords not deeply involved in debt obtain more than the prices so recorded; and this is also true for many proprietors whose debts are considerable. It is rare for a large owner to hand over his grain to a creditor at the threshing-floor; but except in the Sidhnai and Lower Bári Doáb Colonies it is otherwise with the vast majority of tenants and small proprietors. These are generally in debt and the ordinary practice is for the money-lender to take away the grain from the threshing-floor leaving only sufficient for the support of the family for two or three months. When the grain is weighed, the creditor often receives an extra ser or two in the maund, and again when prices are fixed, they are usually less than those current. Prices are sometimes fixed at a meeting of zamíndárs and money-lenders, and the strength of the latter determines their variation from current prices. In a village, where the Muhammadan body is strong and little in debt, the prices conceded are not, as a rule, less than note-book prices, and are sometimes higher; but in villages where the debt, is large and there are no powerful zamíndárs, the adverse difference is fairly large. In some parts of the district prices are fixed for a group of villages and are then the same for all classes, the money-lender being left to get his pound of flesh in other ways. The harvest prices were the basis on which commutation prices for the purposes of assessment were founded both at the Third and Fourth Settlements; but the abnormal circumstances created by the war naturally dictated considerable deviation from village prices at the later Settlement, and the commutation prices then sanctioned by Government were much below the actual averages. On the basis of the prices assumed at the two Settlements the general rise in prices between 1896-97 and 1916-17 worked out at about 37 per cent; on the basis of actual harvest prices, the increase was about 45 per cent.

(d) The material condition of the people.

It is difficult to generalise regarding the economic conditions of the various classes of the population. They differ from class to class and to a less extent for the same class in different tahsils. On the inundation canals, the element of insecurity is too great to allow a substantial and continuous advance among those dependent on the cultivation of land. Improvement there has been during the past 25 years and marked improvement; but this has been attributable to two main causes, the rise in the value of agricultural produce and more efficient working of the canals, followed as a natural consequence by the sinking of many new wells.

CHAPTER II, B.

Rents, Wages and Prices.

(d) The material condition of the people.

Many of the smaller owners and a large number of tenants have not got free control over the disposal of their produce. Though the interest on loans is nominally low at 12 per cent. an initial deduction is made from the principal, and additional payments in kind are exacted at harvest. The ordinary interest on advances of seed is 25 per cent.; but during years of great scarcity it may rise as high as 50 per cent. There are many large owners in the district and some of them are careful managers. Many, however, are careless and extravagant, and heavy indebtedness is a common incident of families with large rent rolls. In the Sidhnai Colony the conditions are more stable. The average liabilities of a medium land-owner holding about 30 acres of cultivated land may be put at Rs. 500 and of a small holder owning about 10 acres at Rs. 300. This allows for many owners who are not in debt, but takes no account of their savings which are often considerable. Of the large owners a few are wealthy; the majority are in debt from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 5,000; and a few owe anything from Rs. 5,000 to a lakh of rupees. Generally, the indebtedness of owners is not large relative to the value of their property. In the Lower Bári Doáb Colony, owners and tenants are alike prosperous except the few unfortunates who have obtained markedly inferior land. The grantees and auction purchasers include many who have large outside resources, and although the small men have not had time to reach the very high level of prosperity general in the Chenáb Colony, their future is secure.

There has been a distinct advance among the artisan and labouring classes. The demand for skilled and unskilled labour from the canal colonies has placed these classes in a stronger position than they have previously enjoyed, so that they have been able to obtain a return for their labour substantially in excess of the rise in cost of their former standard of living. That they have, as a class, failed to accumulate savings is due to two causes, firstly, to the natural tendency of unskilled labour in this country to restrict the hours of labour to what suffices for the daily needs, and, secondly, to the expenditure of extra earnings in the improvement of the standard of comfort. The first is an economic evil; the second is an economic gain, and it is all to the good that even the casual labourer should look as a matter of course to better food and clothes than he did twenty-five years ago. His standard is still regrettable low.

The trading classes, as a whole, and despite the periodical years of depression to which trade is subject, have obtained a fair share of the profits accruing from the large development of agricultural resources. Some of them, at times, have engaged too freely in speculation and suffered heavy losses; but the sober business instincts of the class have ensured to the majority substantial, if irregular, progress in their material condition.

(d) The material condition of the people.

The professional classes, Government and other servants on fixed salaries and the respectable poor, have fared less well. Even before the war they found it difficult to keep pace with the steady improvement in the standard of comfort which was attained by other members of the social grades to which they belonged; since the war their position has been much the same as that of similar classes in other countries. Their expenses have increased more rapidly than their income, so that they have been forced, while maintaining an outward appearance of respectability, to stint themselves and their dependents in the real necessaries of life; and only too often the sacrifices they make, in order to educate their sons, are in vain, owing to the crowded state of the market for youths of mediocre attainments.

(e) Measures—Measures of time.

The following is the ordinary manner in which the time of day is described. The first approach of morning, the time when people have to get up to eat food during Ramzán, is known as the 'asahúr.' The very early dawn is 'tarka,' 'wadda wela' or 'namáz wela.' The dawn is 'subah,' 'savere' and 'paraphát' (parbhát). 'Pahur din charhe' is about 9 A.M., and noon is 'dopahara,' 'dopra' or 'roti wela.' At 2 P.M. they say, 'Dopahar dhalle' or 'pichhawan dhal gayá.' 'Peshí wela' is about 3 P.M., and the late afternoon is 'lauhdá wela,' 'digar wela' or 'tarkálan.' Evening is 'shám,' 'namásban,' and (among Hindus) 'sandhia wela.' Nine P.M. is 'asha' or pahur rát,' and midnight *pahars* or watches, of which four are from sunset to sunrise and four from sunrise to sunset, so that the length of *pohar* varies at different times of the year.

The days of the week are:—

Aitwár (Sunday).	Buddh (Wednesday).
Sowár (Monday).	Jummarát or Khamís (Thursday).
Mangalwár (Tuesday).	Jumma (Friday).

Chhanchhan (Saturday).

The months commonly referred to by the people are those of the Sambat or solar year of Vikramaditya: each of these begins about the middle of an English month:—

Month.	Corresponding English month.	Month.	Corresponding English month.
Chetr ...	March-April.	Assún ...	September-October.
Visákh ...	April-May.	Kattak ..	October-November
Jeth ...	May-June	Mangghar ...	November-December.
Hár ...	June-July.	Poh ...	December-January.
Sáwan ...	July-August	Mángh ...	January-February.
Bhádron ...	August-September.	Phaggan ...	

CHAPTER II, B.

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For calculating the feasts and fasts of the Muhammadan year, the lunar calendar of the Muhammadans is followed.

The whole year is divided into two seasons, *viz.*, the summer months (hunála) and the winter months (siála). The rains are not recognized as a separate season.

Measures of length.

The usual measures of length employed in measuring cloth, etc., are:—

3 ungals or finger breadths = 1 girah.
10 girahs = 1 hath or cubit.
2 haths = 1 gaz or yard.

The 'hath' is of two kinds, the 'angrezi' and the 'pakka.' The former is understood to be the length from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger; the latter is the length of one 'angrezi' hath, *plus* the length of the middle finger repeated. There are consequently two yards: the English of 36 inches, and the pakka gaz of about 45 inches.

For measuring wood the table is:—

2 ungals = 1 tasu.
2 tasus = 1 shárak.
4 shároks = 1 pá.
2 pás = 1 hath.
2 haths = 1 gaz.

The gaz in this case being 3 feet 10 inches.

For linear measurement of land the basis is the karam of two paces. The indigenous karam is, generally speaking, about 57 or 58 inches; but one finds now in almost universal use the recognized Government karam of 66 inches. The koh or kos is an indefinite distance, amounting, as a rule, to something like a mile and a half.

Measures of area.

The main unit of area is the bigah, which is constituted as follows:—

9 sarsâhis or square karams = 1 marla.
20 malás = 1 kanál.
4 kánals = 1 bigah.

The bigah has for many years been presumed to be exactly half an acre, and the revenue records are kept in marlás, kanáls and acres. The indigenous bigah and the bigah referred to in old sanads is somewhat smaller than half an acre; but for all practical purposes the bigah now recognized by the zamíndârs is the half acre bigah prescribed by the Government. The people never use the terms biswa or ghumáo.

Measures of weight.

For small weighments made by goldsmiths, bankers, etc., the weights are:—

2 cháwals = 1 dána.
4 dánas = 1 ratti.
8 rattis = 1 máshá.
12 máshás = 1 tola.

CHAPTER II, B.

Rents, Wages and Prices.

Measures of weight.

The standard tola is the weight of one rupee, but in local business the tola used is $\frac{12}{11}$ths of the standard tola. For larger weighments the following are used:—

1¼ tola = 1 shai.
4 sháis or sarsáis = 1 chiták.
4 chitáks or sháraks = 1 páo.
4 páos = 1 ser.
4 sers = 1 dhari.
40 sers = 1 man or maund.

The 'man' usually employed is the standard maund of 82$\frac{2}{7}$ pounds avoirdupois. In the tarafs round Multán city vegetables are sold by a maund of 64 sers and fruit by a maund of 54 sers.

Measures of capacity.

In dealings between grain dealers among themselves and in all sales of grain for value, the grain is sold by weight; but in purely grain transactions and in the division of the produce of land, various measures of capacity are generally used. As there are at least fifteen different grain measures in use in different parts of the district, it is a matter of great difficulty to grasp the local variations and the limits within which a particular 'topa' or 'máni' is current; but, fortunately, the lack of such knowledge causes little inconvenience to the district officer. The reader is referred for more detailed information to Chapter IV-C of the 1902 Edition.

SECTION C.—FORESTS.

The reserved forests of the district are included in an area of 1,341 square miles and comprise three ranges and an irrigated plantation. Particulars of area and locality are given in the following table:—

Range.	Tahsíl.	Name of Forest.	Area in acres.
Kabírwála ...	Kabírwála ...	Makhdum-Vinoi ...	25,779
" ...	" ...	Pirmahal ...	26,380
" ...	"	Akil ...	81
Lodhrán ...	Shujábád ...	Jalálpur ...	1,475
" ...	" ...	Shujaitpur	996
" ...	" ...	Obwarah ...	650
" ...	" ...	Kotwálak ...	560
" ...	" ...	Nauraja Bhutta	1,275
" ...	Lodhrán ...	Khanwah ...	1,416
" ...	"	Lodhrán ...	1,330
Mailsi ...	Mailsi ...	Shraf ...	5,023
" ...	"	Tájwána ...	2,011
" ...	" ...	Chak Kaura ...	1,469
" ...	" ...	Sáhuka ...	20,236

CHAPTER II. C.

Forests.

Khánewál, Irrigation plantation 30·13 square miles.

Except in the irrigated plantation the forest growth consists mainly of jand, farásh and karil and the wood is sold almost entirely for building and agricultural purposes and for fuel. Forest fires are rare except in the Lodhrán Range where there is a rich growth of 'Sarkana' and other grasses. The sale of grass and rights of grazing yield a fair income in the Mailsi and Kabírwála Ranges, but the value of minor forest produce is nominal. The Mailsi and Lodhrán forests will disappear when the Sutlej Valley Project is complete, but other sources of fuel and timber will be supplied by the creation of three irrigated plantations each of 10,000 acres in area.

In addition to the reserved forests, there are very extensive areas of so-called protected forests, the nominal areas being 154,406 and 608 square miles in the Kabírwála, Lodhrán and Mailsi Ranges, respectively. A considerable portion of these, however, is under cultivation, and there are wide areas in them which bear no tree growth of economic value. They will, for the most part, be brought under colonisation.

The following table shows the revenue derived from the forests during the three years ending 1923-24:—

Reserved Forests.

Source of revenue.	Kabírwála Range.	Lodhrán Range.	Mailsi Range.	Khánewál Range.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Timber ...	2,652	187	846	...
Firewood ..	1,28,391	7	2,135	...
Grazing, grass cutting ...	29,324	3,898	10,344	2,531
Minor forest produce, i.e., munj, kana, manure.	156	717	231	...
Temporary cultivation ..	...	...	...	2,13,700

Protected Forests.

Source of revenue.	Kabírwála Range.	Lodhrán Range.	Mailsi Range.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Timber	4,142	1,652	8,332
Firewood	1,257	1,144	224
Minor Forest Produce, i.e., munj, kana, etc.	57	822	1,623

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SECTION D.—MINES AND MINERAL RESOURCES.

The district is destitute of mineral wealth. Saltpetre is manufactured on a small scale and a little 'kankar' is found here and there on the surface.

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SECTION E.—ARTS AND MANUFACTURES.

The following description of the special industries of the district is based on a note furnished by the late Mr. Lockwood Kipling and revised for the last edition of the gazetteer by Mr. Percy Brown. Notes have now been added regarding the present state of each industry.

Glazed Pottery.

The industries for which the town of Multán is noted are glazed pottery, vitrous enamel, ornaments in silver, cotton and woollen carpets, silk fabrics and metal-work.

The glazed faience is a relic of the time when mosques and tombs were covered with this beautiful material. There are many such buildings at Multán and Muzaffargarh, as elsewhere in the province. Until a comparatively recent period, the work was exclusively architectural, and consisted of tiles painted in dark and light blue with large geometrical patterns for wall surfaces, finials for the tops of domes, the Muhammadan profession of faith painted in bold Arabic characters for tombs, and panels of various sizes for lintels, door jambs, and the like. There is here no ornamentation of earthen vessels for domestic use (except perhaps of the huqqa and chillum as at Peshávar). The European demand developed a trade in flower pots, large plateaux for decorative purposes, and many varieties of the comprehensive word 'vase.' The work differs technically from the pottery of Sindh, which had the same origin, in that its decoration consists solely in painting in two or three colours on the glaze or enamel, the use of coloured or white 'slips' which gives a raised appearance to the patterns on Sindh ware being unknown or at least not practised. The colours used are a dark blue from cobalt, and a very fine turquoise from copper. A manganese violet and a green with other colours have been recently tried, but with no great success. The 'biscuit' and 'glost' firing are done at one operation, *i.e.*, the article is made in clay, sundried, covered with glaze, and painted at once. The green glaze is said to require that preliminary burning of the clay which is invariably given in European practice. Architectural objects are still better understood, and more satisfactorily treated, than are the vases and other wares made for the European mantelpiece. No more suitable material for internal wall-decoration could be devised, but little use has been made of it for this purpose.

The glaze which is used now is said not to be so durable as that on the old work, some of the recent productions being very brittle and easily washed off with soda-water. The

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method of making the glaze is as follows:—"One part of powdered limestone and two parts of powdered soda are mixed with water and made into balls. These are dried for fifteen or twenty days in the sun. They are then burnt in an earthen vessel in a smokeless fire till they become quite white. Again it is melted in a strong fire for twenty-four hours and put into cold water to set. When required for use it is powdered in a mill and mixed with water to the required consistency. It is not applied with a brush, but is poured over the article, which is kept on the move *until* the whole surface is covered." During the past twenty years the range of colours has increased, but it cannot be said that the results have been entirely satisfactory. Previous to the war, the trade was flourishing and the European demand for small decorative articles seemed to be steadily increasing. The use of the ware for internal wall decoration was also developing. At present, however, the industry is depressed. The workers are confined to a few families who carry on the industry in their own homes or in small shops. These are situated to the east of the Daulat Gate and the total number of workers is now less than 20. The káshígars, as they are called, form a class among themselves and are most conservative. They are intensely jealous of the secrets of their trade, and it is on record that one of the most skilled of them was employed in the Mayo School of Arts on a monthly salary of Rs. 200. He learnt little and divulged nothing, and soon returned to his home to carry on his art under the old traditions. The sons receive sufficient education to write the inscriptions which custom requires, but they are apprenticed at an early age to their work and at about 20 years of age they are told the hereditary secrets of their profession on an oath forbidding disclosure except to their own sons. The káshígars are generally in good circumstances, and were they less conservative the industry could be expanded. As it is, its monopolistic character has resulted in deterioration, old artistic forms disappearing and new and cheap imitations taking their place.

Enamel.

The enamel on silver of Multán probably owes its preservation to the continued use of vitrified colour in the local pottery. The dark and light blues of the tiles are as identical in their nature with, as they are similar in appearance to, the colouring of a Multán brooch or necklace. Black, red and yellow, the difficulties of the potter all the world over, are easier to manage in the small scale on which the silversmith works. But they are not nearly so good in Multán enamel as the blues. In larger objects, such as cups and some forms of bracelets, the work might be described as *champlevé* enamel. The ground on which the colour is laid is graven out precisely as in Europe, but in the case of studs, solitaires, brooches and other objects which form the staple of the trade, a more expeditious and mechanical plan is adopted.

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The threadlike lines of silver which bound the pattern are engraven on a steel or bronze die or 'thappa' into which the silver is beaten. The result is a meagre and mechanical raised line within which the enamel is laid. Copper is added to the silver to the extent of nearly half its weight to enable it, so the workmen say, the better to resist the heat of the fire. The ordinary price varies from Re. 1 to Rs. 2 per tola, to which for enamel in two colours, 4 annas per rupee is added for workmanship. When three or four colours are introduced, a rupee per tola is added. The reason for the enhanced price is the additional firing requisite to bring up reds and yellows to the proper tone. There is no contrivance at all resembling the muffle kiln used by enamellers in Europe and elsewhere, and the work is practically roasted in an open charcoal fire, protected by shards or by a wire cage. Rough as this process may appear, and deficient in design as much of the Multán enamel work is when compared with the best of which India is capable, it compares very favourably with the Algerian, Persian and Syrian articles of the same class which are extensively sold in Paris. There are several good workmen who can be trusted to produce excellent work at a fair price. The prices of the articles rise very rapidly with their size, as the difficulty of evenly firing a piece six inches in height is very much greater than in the case of buttons, studs, etc. The Multánis, unlike the Kashmírís have a notion that enamel cannot well be applied to any other metal than their modified silver, and have no inclination to work on brass or copper, cheaper materials which might doubtless be largely brought into use. The largest objects to which enamel is applied in the district are the 'mokabbas' or covered dishes that come from Baháwalpur, where the practice is similar to that of Multán excepting that in addition to the opaque enamels, a semi-translucent sea green and dark blue are applied, while the silver is frequently heavily gilded. These are both points of superiority. Mr. B. H. Baden Powell in his Handbook of Punjab Manufactures quotes a local legend, that the first maker was one Nantu, who worked four hundred years ago, and that since then the art so increased in excellence that Multán enamelled ware was highly esteemed and exported to other districts.

Since the above was written, several causes have operated to depress the industry. Among these the most important must be reckoned a change in fashion due to the greater diffusion of wealth among both the urban and rural classes. Among Indian ladies of position, enamelled silver is not highly esteemed and its popularity steadily declines as the competition of imported jewelry increases. The standard of workmanship is also not so high as formerly, though prices have more than doubled within 20 years. Many of the craftsmen follow the goldsmith's art and the industry is confined to a few families, the total number of workmen being

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about 30. Another cause of the decline is the increasing extent to which an alloy of silver and copper is used and the work is now popularly known not as 'míná-kárí,' but as 'nímá-kárí' or half-work. The use of the alloy gives a distinctive character to the work, but this quality is obtained at the expense of superior finish and brilliancy. The workers are all Hindus and form a sub-class of sunárs with whom they inter-marry. They are not well-off, and the nature of their work is said prematurely to age them.

Carpets.

Multán is probably the only town in the Province which can claim woollen carpet-weaving as an independent, if not absolutely indigenous manufacture. It seems likely that rugs and carpets brought over from Turkestán in the course of its large and long-established Pawindah trade may have served as the original inspiration. The patterns have a decidedly Tartar air. They are excessively bold and yet not clear in detail. The unusual size of the stitch, together with a peculiar brightness in the white, and their rather violent red and yellow, give them a somewhat aggressive and quite distinctive quality of colour. The cost ranges from one rupee per yard upwards, and, though looser in texture than good jail carpets, they are durable and serviceable. The larger sizes are always, to European eyes, disproportionately long for their width, a peculiarity noticeable in all carpets that come from countries like Persia and Turkistán, where wood for roofing timber is small, and apartments in consequence are long and narrow.

The cotton rugs and carpets are sometimes parti-coloured like the woollen ones, but the typical Multán cotton carpet is an exceedingly strong and substantial fabric coloured entirely in a bright bluish white and blue. There would seem, indeed, to be a sort of unity in local treatment of pottery, enamels and rugs. They are sometimes made in large sizes, but always, unless specially ordered, long in proportion to their width. The colouring is vivid but not unpleasant, in effect, and the texture, notwithstanding its large stitch, is substantial and serviceable. The Multán carpets, on the whole, are very respectable productions; and although the original *motif* of the pattern has been merged by dint of many repetitions in vague masses of colour, its fabric remains stout and good, forming in this respect a strong contrast with the Mirzapore rug, another survival which has not only lost its pattern, but become flimsy and loose in workmanship.

The carpets now manufactured are mostly of wool and cotton mixed and contain a greater variety of colour. It is also claimed for them that the quality is higher than formerly but this is open to question. The industry is not flourishing, and there are at present less than 20 workshops with about forty looms. The usual practice is for the master-weaver to employ labour and to supply the raw materials, looms and

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other requisites. The products are sold through brokers, and, except for one or two of the larger firms, there are no direct dealings with the merchants. Prices have risen much since the War and the result has been a serious slump in the demand for the more expensive carpets. Since the margin of profit is larger for these than for the cheaper kinds, the employer has had to be satisfied with poor returns. The weavers too are far from prosperous. They are illiterate and their daily earnings do not exceed Re. 1-8-0. One or two of the larger firms are progressive, and there is some hope that through their enterprise the industry may recover from its depression.

The traveller Vigne, quoted by Mr. Baden Powell in his Handbook, wrote:—

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"Seven hundred maunds of raw silk are brought to Multán every year by the Lohánís, chiefly from Bokhára and Turkistán; these are manufactured in one hundred and fifty workshops. One man will finish an ordinary *khes* or silk scarf in six days, perhaps three yards long and a foot and half wide, taking eight days previously for the arrangement of the weaving apparatus. A very handsome *khes* is finished in sixteen days. That of the red colour is most valuable; it is dyed with cochineal, which is brought from either Bombay or Bokhára; that from Bombay is a rupee a ser—about a shilling a pound. The trade still continues, and Multán silk weaving is probably the best in the province. At Amritsar and Delhi there is a more varied use of the staple, and at Lahore there is perhaps more variety in the European style of pattern; but the Multán *daryai* plain self-coloured silk, the dhupchhan or shot silk, and the *khes*, a sort of checked, damasked fabric are better finished and more agreeably coloured. All Indian silks are deficient in lustre to European eyes, but those of Multán are decidedly less 'cottony' in appearance than others. These fabrics are chiefly worn by native ladies and are therefore little known to Europeans. The combination of cotton with silk to make the latter lawful for Muhammadan wear 'Musaffa' (pure), has given the name of Sufi to a mixture of a cotton warp with a silk weft, which is very well made at Multán. Shujá Khání is another name for these mingled goods, for which Baháwalpur is perhaps better known than Multán, where, however, they can be produced in equal perfection. Gold thread is frequently worked into the variegated stripes for these cloths, and it is also wrought into the borders and ends of the *lungis*, turbans, *khes* and *iklais*. One of the best features of this manufacture is the great durability and wearing power of the fabric."

The above account represents the industry as it was. I give below a description of the industry as it is, from the pen of Seth Radha Krishna, a young economist of distinction who chose "The Industries of Multan" as a subject for his thesis in the M. A. Honours Degree in Economics of the Punjab University. His account is of great interest, not only because it describes in detail the various processes of an important industry, but also because it gives familiar glimpses of social life as viewed by a progressive Indian economist:—

"The silk industry is the premier industry of Multán. For a long time past Multán has been and is still a great importing centre of raw silk from China (by way of Bombay), Káshmír, Bengal, Yárkand, Khojand and Bokhára. The silk imported from China is of

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very inferior quality. The city has also been noted for its silk manufactures of various colours and varieties. Its fabrics are higher priced, and excel the Amritsar ones in some respects. What they lack in appearance they make up in durability of texture and fastness of colour. They are also much prized on account of their quality of being washable without losing their lustre or colour.

Organisation of Industry.—There are two classes of workers. First, there are those who work independently; they buy their own raw materials and themselves market the finished product. But the number of such workers is very small. The other class of workmen is attached to one or two of the big silk shops which supply them with raw material which has already gone through refining and dyeing processes; they have got their own instruments of production and work in their own homes assisted by their wives and children (some money is also advanced to them by these "Merchant Middlemen" and is deducted at the time, when they bring the finished product to them to receive their wages). The adults (both males and females) ply the looms, the children clean the yarn and weave silk on shuttles. These "merchant middlemen" are a necessary evil in the organisation of the silk industry, for the raw material is very expensive and the workers cannot afford to buy it on their own account. Besides the demand for silk goods is irregular and subject to great fluctuations. A rush of marriages in one month may lead to a great demand, while a year of 'Sanghshat' (period during which no Hindu marriage is celebrated) may smother all demand. The weaver cannot be expected to undertake such a risky task.

Division of labour in the Industry—Refinement of the imported silk.—The silk is first of all imported by the big shop-keepers on their own account. The independent workers also buy their silk from them. But the skeins of this imported silk are so badly wound up, that it has to be unwound, separated into fibres of different qualities and then wound up on different reels. The merchants give over the skeins of silk to *Nikads* called in other parts of the Punjáb Patpherás. These *Nikads* distribute the skeins to the womenfolk of the city, both Hindu and Muhammadan, for getting a continuous thread out of the tangled mass. A decade ago, this was the staple occupation of the women of the town. Almost all of them were seen working at it during the spare hours of the day. The occupation was not looked down upon as all classes, high and low, were engaged in it, the rich from the point of view of pastime and amusement for idle hours, the poor and widows from the standpoint of material gain. Moreover, the occupation harmonized with the 'purdah' system and was quite suited to the women as it involved no heavy labour and consequent strain on their health. But with the dissemination of education among the girls, they have come to conceive a particular aversion to all manual labour. They think it to be something unbecoming and tedious. In spite of this fact, the number of women still engaged in it may be counted by thousands and not by hundreds. The wages are paid according to the amount cleaned. On an average, they can make six or eight annas a day. The reels round which the silk has been wrapped come to the *Nikad* again. He now separates the different qualities of the thread of varying thickness and gets an even thread from the continuous one prepared by the women. His hands are, so 'delicately experienced' that he can test the different qualities of the thread when it passes through his fingers and thumb, and as soon as he feels a change in its fineness he breaks the thread and winds it on another reel lying near at hand. The broken ends are then joined by the tongue. The silk is now called 'Doru' and 'Táni' and is used for warp and woof.

A little about his life.—He generally lives in a room assigned to him by the shop-keeper to whose shop he is attached. In return for this favour he is expected to sleep at night at the shop of the *Shah* and

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to keep watch—old people being generally preferred for the purpose.

Ram Lal, *Nikad*, aged 33, a robust young man, works at the shop of the biggest silk merchant of Multán. Though of a high caste he has not been able to procure a bride for himself on account of his limited and scanty means. A room in the upper storey of the shop is set apart for him where he works during the day and sleeps at night. His bag and baggage in all consists of a chárpái, a few working tools, such as reels, spinning wheel, which constitutes his stock-in-trade, and some cooking utensils. He cooks his own food which consists of wheaten bread with a little vegetable at his morning meal and with pulses at the evening meal. He can on an average earn Re. 1¼ to Re. 1½ a day. He saves a good deal, for his expenditure on food is comparatively small. He does not save actuated by any strong sense of thrift to provide against unemployment, under-work or rainy days, but for fairs and festivals, when he likes to put in a very smart appearance by wearing a very costly dress, a waist-coat of velvet or of 'Keem Kháb,' a high silken 'Dopatta' thrown round his neck across the shoulders. His only ambition is to pass for a rich man on such occasions. He is capable of getting tipsy on these days and gambles also. He deposits some money with his master and performs domestic services in order to win his assistance in the matter of marriage. His hours are spent in wandering through the streets doling out and collecting the silk for which he gets a commission in the sense that he gets a higher rate from the shop-keeper and pays a lower rate to the ladies. Besides these legitimate earnings, he sometimes supplements them with dishonest ones by deceiving the poor and ignorant ladies by over-weighing or under-weighing as the case might be.

The number of such *Nikads* is fast dwindling. At present it may be taken at between 12 and 15. The reason is that now the shop-keeper prefers to deal directly with the women by sending his own "shágird" (servant) to distribute the silk. On the other hand, the women have also learnt to differentiate threads of different fineness in the same process, when the silk is being unwound, thus eliminating the *Nikads*.

Dyeing.—The silk having been prepared into yarn is now to experience the hard hands of the dyer who dyes it into the required fast colour and imparts to it that glossy appearance which cannot be better described than by the word "silkiness".

Description of a silk dyer.—The silk dyers also called 'Patolies are mainly Hindus. Before dying, the silk is washed in a solution of Carbonate of Soda, which in a great measure spoils the silk, but no better treatment is known. 'Kirmich' and 'Bhojgand' (names of two chemicals) brought by the Patháns into Multán are largely used by the dyers for giving deep redness and extreme fastness of colour. It is probably due to the use of these two chemicals that the Multán silk cloth has attained such a unique position in the pleasing nature and fastness of its colour. The silk skeins having been dyed and rinsed are not left to dry in the shade, but are given to a special class of labourers who beat them forcibly against their hands which serves the double purpose of trimming them of all superfluities and drying them in the air. Such labourers are paid at the rate of 5 annas per ser trimmed.

Their life.—While the cotton dyers are ubiquitous, the silk and wool dyers are important only in Amritsar, Lahore and Multán, and lead the same kind of life at all places. In Multán they are paid according to the weight of the silk dyed and seem to be much better off than their brethren in the cotton branch. They can, if they work for a full working day, make Rs. 5. This higher rate of wages encourages sloth among them, for as soon as they can earn enough for subsistence, they leave off work and give themselves up to merry

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making. As a class, they are reputedly a gang of gamblers. They are very fond of festivals and fairs, but save for these periods of enjoyment; their life is dull, insipid and unvaried. They are all illiterate and ill-bred, with no sound moral character. It is their want of education and the desire for recreation that tempts them to seek such unhealthy amusements. They are, however, not past redemption. Many of them can be easily reclaimed, if provision is made for wholesome recreation and education.

Twisting operation.—' Tavji '.—The finest threads prepared by the *Nikad* are given over to ' Tavji ', the twister for twisting and making them fit for warp. These twisters live outside the city at a distance of one mile, near the Railway Station for want of working space. They must have either open court-yards or work in open fields. Generally shady places are selected. They live a semi-rural life. In summer, they rise early in the morning at five and start work before 6 A.M. At about twelve when it becomes unbearably hot in Multán, they have perforce to leave work. They can hardly resume work at 3 P.M. and continue till 7 P.M. In winter, of course, they work all the day long. The twister is seen singing, while at work, as the work does not require much skill or rapt attention. Their talk centres round the latest village scandals, and every day there is a fresh crop of rumours, as, for instance, that such and such a woman was seen talking with the *Mochi* (shoe-maker). The daily earnings of the twister amount to ten annas a day, and he can hardly make both ends meet. Their women do the silk winding business, and earn five or six annas a day. They live in mud-houses with open court-yards and one or two rooms, where the ignorant, but well-meaning house-wife scatters her utensils and clothes, giving them a ghastly appearance. Their physique is generally good, as they live in open air at a distance from the unhealthy influence of the town. All of them cannot deal directly with the shop-keeper, as they are mostly stupid and cannot distinguish between the silk received from various shop-keepers. Moreover, they cannot offer any security to the shop-keeper for their misconduct. They might run away any time with the costly material. To safeguard against these losses, a sensible man of credit from among them known for honesty and common sense and owning a house or two is selected for dealing with the shop-keeper. He stands responsible to the shop-keeper and distributes work to the various workers. He pays them according to the quantity of work done, *i.e.*, piece-wages. He generally charges higher rates from the shop-keeper, and pays something less to the workers. He pockets this difference as a reward for his honesty, intelligence and risk.

Weaving stage.—When the ' Tavji ' has finished with the work, the silk comes to the weaver to be woven into cloth. The loom used by the weaver is of the old type in which the fly-shuttle does not come into operation. One of the workers told me that the finer threads of silk could not withstand the jerks of the fly-shuttle. There are at present nearly 250 looms of silk weavers who prepare various kinds of silk cloth, such as *Daryái, Gulbadan,* etc. They have also begun to make silken handkerchiefs. A certain kind of *Lungi* called the *Multáni Lungi,* is an unrivalled product of Multán which workers in other cities have not been able to copy. The daily earnings of a family come to about Rs. 2-8-0 a day.

The weavers at Multán have come from all parts of the Punjáb, Khusháb, Hoshiárpur, Jullundur, Gurdáspur, Amritsar. The recent census puts them (including the Multáni weavers) at 12,000. All these workers live outside the city in Kiri Dáud Khan, Khuni Burj, Kasábpura, Faridábád and Kupri Potolián, etc. They live in houses with open spaced court-yards, for their work requires a large space for spreading the warp. Formerly these houses were all ' kachha ' houses, but some of the workers are now replacing them by ' pacca ' ones. When I visited the place, some two or three of the houses

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were under this process of conversion. But the pity is that they do not make any differentiation and have the same working and dwelling house. Some have even put up their looms in their sleeping rooms. The confined apartments in which they work and the sedentary nature of their work are by no means conducive to health, but their muscles are well built and rounded. Nearly all of them drink and smoke, but very few gamble. They are all fond of hearing 'Mujras' (songs of singing damsels). Every week, they go in for this at least once. Most of them are short-sighted, and spend their daily earnings leaving the morrow to 'Máshá Allah' (the will of the Almighty). In connection with this, it should be noted that with all this, they have not grown irreligious. Every one of them says his Namáz once, if not five times, a day. They spend a good deal during the Moharram days on their Tázias called the Páoliánwála. As a class, they are steeped in debt, but a few of them are in a very good position and have recently escaped the Income-Tax Officer.

I may here remark that the classic descriptions with regard to the proverbial ignorance, stupidity, and the extreme poverty of the village weavers are to be taken with some reserve and modification in the case of these particular town-weavers. I quite agree that the difference is one of degree and not of kind and is due to environment. The time-honoured custom is that the weaver gets the raw material from the shop-keeper, and works for him. Some advance is also paid with the raw material. But I part company when it is contended that the workman loses all freedom and becomes bound to the employer. On enquiry, I found that while some workers were in debt, others had a few rupees to their credit with the shop-keeper. The worker cannot be said to be under the grip of the merchant in face of such circumstances. His connection with the shop-keeper is beneficial to him as well as to the shop-keeper. Very often his initial aid becomes necessary, as he cannot start without the shop-keeper's capital. If the worker runs into debt on account of his own lavish expenditure it is not the fault of the shop-keeper. Advances should not be deprecated simply because they are advances. Reasonable advances supply a dire necessity. Moreover, the growing consciousness among the workers offers a strong guarantee to the workers against this system of advances and the supposed result of bondage. Some four or five years back all the weavers raised a bitter cry against the treatment of the shop-keepers and offered a united front. The question was soon turned into a Hindu-Muhammadan controversy, and the weavers appealed to the big Muhammadan Raises of the town to aid them with capital, when they would start sale shops of their own. The project, however, failed as no encouraging response was made to their appeals.

I may note in this connection the work of the Co-operative Credit Society among these workers. Its membership stands at 800. The success which it is achieving in improving the economic position of the workers is not very great. If some workers get advances from it to buy raw materials on their own account, they have to buy it from these shop-keepers who sell at a fairly high rate of profit. Notwithstanding the fact that the Society is in its infancy, its moral influence is good. At least all its members have agreed to give up drinking in order to improve their economic condition.

Market stage.—The shops of the silk merchants are situated in a very dark, narrow, damp and unhealthy street called *Andhikhui.* I have not found adequate reasons for the choice of such a locality, except the desire to avoid public gaze. The articles are stored in a dark room, and only shown to the customer on his own bidding. The transactions are generally made through brokers who bring the customers and convey the materials. They receive their commission which is generally from one to two annas in the rupee. Ultimately the incidence of this commission falls on the customers in the shape of higher prices.

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These shop-keepers are mostly educated. A graduate has also joined this profession. The merchants are capitalists and deal in all kinds of goods especially silk cloth. Some of them are Arhatias (commission agents) of no mean order, and can manage through their several vocations to pocket 300 or 400 rupees per mensem. They are Hindus Bhais married to old fashioned Hindu ladies and are orthodox in religion. Their diet is simple, and their dress is decent, consisting of a *Dhoti*, a muslin shirt, a turban and a waist-coat. Their chief ambition is to spend their riches on big palatial houses, and on marriage occasions. They seem to be fairly typical of the middle class Hindus of this century.

Causes of the decline and the future of the Industry.—The real cause is Western influence and not Western competition, for Western silk is neither so durable nor so showy, and so it is more costly to undersell that. In fact it is the change of fashion and the depravity of taste created by European calicos that has hit our industry very hard. We have now come to demand things that look silky and catch the eye by their finish and "European elegance" of pattern. We would at once pronounce a *Sarhi* full of figures and colours as clumsy and readily buy another with less figures and less variety of colours. So the *daryái* weavers have come down from pure silk to artificial silk, and it is seldom that one finds a good silk *daryái* on the loom. The modern tendency is to prefer cheapness to quality, so *dhupchhaon* and *Gulbadan* are becoming increasingly popular. Another no less important cause of the decay is the obsolete nature of the looms and the crude and unsatisfactory method of twisting, cleaning and sizing. The competition of Japanese fabrics is also a potent factor in this process. The real solution lies in setting the looms to bring out new patterns according to the demand of the market. This can be done by teaching the weaver to copy the fancy imported design. If the industry is to keep its own, more attention should be paid to the improvement of designs. It is on this side that the possibilities for expansion are greatest."

Village industries.

Village industries consist mainly in the weaving of coarse cotton cloth and the preparation of ropes, mats, etc., from the sarkana or date. In some of the villages and country towns there are some special industries which have a local reputation. In Tulamba and Kahror, for instance, stamped cloths for bed covers are made somewhat after the Kamália type. At Thatta Paolián and Jalálpur chequered saddle-cloths and other forms of cloth-work are prepared. At Shujábád various kinds of sweet confections, such as 'pápar', and 'rewrián' have a local celebrity. At Wachha Sandila ordinary wood-work such as cot legs, etc., is well turned out. At Jalálpur-Pírwála there are the remains of what was once a very flourishing paper trade.

(b) Factory industries.

Statistics relating to factories will be found in Table 28. Further information will be found in the Census Report of 1921, Tables XVII and XXII, Part II. Of the factory industries by far the most important is that concerned with the pressing and ginning of cotton. The greater number of such factories are found in the immediate vicinity of Multán city, where the supply has outstripped the demand so that many of the presses and gins do not work for the greater part of the year, while not a few are closed down more or less permanently. None the less, the industry is a

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(b) Factory industries.

source of profit to many owners and of employment to a fairly large number of operatives. The development of the Lower Bári Doáb Colony has shifted the centre of gravity of the cotton industry away from Multán itself and factories have been constructed at Jahánián, Khánewál, and Mián Chanun to deal with the large local supply of American cotton. The direct route to Karáchi by the Khánewál-Lodhrán-Chord line serves further to increase the industrial importance of these 'mandis' at the expense of Multán. As most of the colony factories are erected on sites formerly the property of Government the latter was able at the time of sale to impose such conditions with regard to the provision of up-to-date machinery as will directly encourage the cultivation of long staple cotton.

Of the factories not connected with the cotton industry, the largest is the flour mill recently constructed by Rai Bahadur Seth Prabh Dayal in Multán city, and owned by him and his brother Seth Mohan Lal. The mill which occupies 5½ bighas of land is constructed on the most up-to-date principles and the buildings include the mill itself, two large godowns, an office, several bungalows and a number of quarters for employees. The main building is of five storeys and is fitted with modern machinery and the latest labour saving devices. The capacity of the mill is 17 sacks per hour or 3,000 maunds per diem. The number of employees is about 150 and the establishment is divided into three departments; wheat cleaning and milling, engineering and clerical. About half the workers belong to the Punjab, but comparatively few are residents of Multán; the remainder belong to the United Provinces and Bikánir. The wages of skilled workers vary between Rs. 50 and Rs. 100 per mensem while unskilled labourers earn from Rs. 20 to Rs. 40, the higher wage being earned by the *paledars* or carriers. The proprietors have made very good arrangements for the housing of the employees. The superior staff have good bungalows, while suitable accommodation is provided for the labourers.

The products of the mill are bran, various grades of 'áta,' 'maida,' 'rawa,' and 'sooji,' and owing to their purity they command a ready market, the mill despite its comparatively short existence, having already a well deserved reputation in and outside the Punjab.

Allibhoy, Vallijee and Sons.

The firm of Allibhoy, Vallijee and Sons, established in 1875, enjoy a high reputation throughout India for manufacture of metal trunks, despatch boxes, surgical instruments, hospital requisites and many other articles. The factory is situated near the Cantonment Railway Station in a compound of 5 bighas and employs about 150 men, most of whom are skilled workers. The various departments include

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Arts and Manufactures.

Allibhoy, Vallijee and Sons.

blacksmithy and moulding, tin-smithy, carpentry, electro-plating, japanning and painting and leather work. The raw metal material is imported from Birmingham mostly in the form of sheets while the leather is obtained from Bombay and Cáwnpore. The employees are all Muhammadans and are mostly residents of Multán. The painters are highly skilled and engaged in factory work only when the demand declined for the decorative articles they formerly made in their own times. The other workmen are of the artisan class and none has undergone regular technical training. On the whole, they are well paid, and the painters in particular are in very comfortable circumstances. The firm did a very prosperous trade during the War, and although the subsequent increase in prices has adversely affected business, it is still in a sound condition and the finished products find a very ready market all over India and in adjacent countries.

There are also some thirty other concerns engaged in the industry, though their turn-over is relatively small, and, for the most part, they content themselves with the manufacture of cheap trunks. The manufacture of domestic utensils of copper and brass is confined to a few families resident in a northern mohalla of the town.

(c) The supply of labour.

The factory operatives are drawn from the menial, farm-labourers and small tenant classes and belong, for the most part, to the rural population of the district. The supply is hardly adequate for the demand, as the rapid development of the agricultural resources of the district and the substantial profits connected with the cultivation of land have much improved the position of the classes on which the factory industries depend and have made them less ready to accept industrial employment. The natural consequence has been a substantial rise in earnings and a real improvement in the standard of living of those who depend wholly or partly on factory work. Outside labour is obtained mainly from Bikánir and the United Provinces, and there is a regular influx of Bikániris each spring. Most of these are employed in harvesting the wheat and other crops, but some take up work in the factories, though few remain there for more than a few months at a time.

SECTION F.—COMMERCE AND TRADE.

Multán city was for long a centre of distribution for articles of trade to trans-Indus territories, and, although the development of railway communication has very seriously affected its importance in this respect, its old connections have not entirely disappeared. The bulk of the export trade is now with Europe and, for the Multán and Kabírwála tahsíls and parts of the three southern tahsíls, Multán city is the chief market. Inside the district, the transport is mainly by road, and, except in the Khánewál tahsíl, where there is a fair number of bullock-carts, camels and donkeys

CHAPTER II. F.

Commerce and Trade.

carry most of the produce. The canal colonies have deprived Multán itself of much of the export trade in wheat, and to the competition of Lyallpur and adjacent *mandis* is now added that of Khánewál, Mián Chanún and Jahánián. The three latter, however, draw supplies mainly from areas which formerly produced barely sufficient to support the local population, and the diversion of trade direct to Karáchi *viâ* Lodhrán, rather than the establishment of local markets, has been the most adverse factor. For the trade of the district, as a whole, the colonisation of the Khánewál tahsíl has done nothing but good. It has added enormously to the surplus of wheat and cotton, has made the district less dependent on imports of oil-seeds, has given a great impetus to factory industries and has afforded the trading classes opportunities which they have been quick to take. The decentralisation of trade from Multán city to new markets has already had economic consequences of great importance.

The chief exports besides wheat and cotton are indigo, hides and skins, dates and fruits. Indigo, which at one time was a valuable source of income is now comparatively of small account, but the profits derived from its cultivation are in the aggregate considerable, and play no small part in the rural economy of the villages still dependent on the inundation canals. The district produces little rice and comparatively little sugarcane; the production of oil-seeds is less than the demand; the manufacture of finished goods of wool and cotton is on a small scale; the forests do not produce superior timber; machinery is not manufactured: and there are no minerals. These facts determine the nature of the imports. The trade in European goods consists mainly of piece-goods, but as the standard of comfort rises in the villages, the tendency is for the foreign trade to increase in variety. The export trade to Europe is mainly in the hands of the large European firms. These do not, as a rule, deal direct with the producer, and the bulk of their purchases is made either in the *mandís* or through local agents. The latter in turn usually deal with sub-agents who buy from the village trader rather than direct from the zamíndár, but the establishment of *mandís*, the increased economic independence of the producer and the large fluctuations in the value of agricultural produce during recent years have all tended to induce the cultivator to hold up his produce and the power of the village shop-keeper is much less than it was. None the less, he still finances, directly or indirectly, a very large part of the trade of the district and plays the chief part in marketing the surplus produce. The bulk of the import and export trade is in the hands of Hindus and in the older parts of the district the Aroras hold almost a monopoly, their only competitors being a few Khatris and Bhátiás. In the

CHAPTER II. G.

Means of Communications.

colonies, immigrant traders from the Punjab compete successfully with Aroras.

SECTION G.—MEANS OF COMMUNICATIONS.

General.

The figures in the margin show the communications of the district and statistical tables Nos. 29 and 30 in Volume B give respectively the distances between the more important places and a list of the rest-houses in charge of various departments of the Government

Rivers	...	344 miles.
Railways	...	*177 „
Metalled Roads	...	41 „
Unmetalled Roads	...	647 „

(a) Railways.

The district is well served with railways. The Lahore to Multán rail-road was opened in 1865 and communication was established with Karáchi in 1878, although it was not until eleven years later that the completion of the bridge over the Indus at Sukkar made through traffic possible. The branch line from Khánewál to Lyallpur was opened in 1900 and the chord line from Khánewál to Lodhrán a few years later. The latter is now on the mail route from Lahore to Karáchi, and, although the construction of the chord has naturally been followed by the diversion of some portion of the export trade from Multán city, it has proved of great value to owners of land in neighbouring villages and especially to the colonists of the Khánewál tahsíl.

The Sutlej Valley Railway from Kasúr to Lodhrán passes through the southern portions of the Mailsi and Lodhrán tahsíls. It was dismantled in 1917 as the material was required elsewhere for War purposes. In the meantime, final sanction was accorded to the Sutlej Valley Project, and as this scheme will completely change the economic conditions of the Mailsi and Lodhrán tahsíls, shifting the centre of gravity of trade further north than it now is, it has been decided to abandon a large portion of the old road, and to realign the route so that, when the line is complete it will not only serve the existing requirements of the southern tahsíls, but will also be the chief carrier of the produce from the Multán colonies of the Sutlej Valley Project. At the present time the line is open between Lodhrán and Mailsi.

(b) Roads.

In comparison with the Central Punjab, the older tahsíls of the district are badly off for good roads. The metalled roads maintained by the Provincial Public Works Department are kept in reasonably good repair but their length is small. The District Board maintains the metalled roads from Khánewál to Kabírwála and from Tulamba to Serai Sidhu; but, as its finances do not allow of adequate expenditure on repairs, portions of these roads are often worse than as

*Does not include the Sutlej Valley Railway.

CHAPTER II, K.

Means of Communications.

(b) Roads.

if they were unmetalled. The unmetalled roads are numerous and with few exceptions their alignment is well suited to local needs, but many of them are in a wretched state of repair and quite unfit for wheeled traffic. Under the existing system of carriage by which camels, donkeys and pack-bullocks supply the means of transport, the lack of good roads is not a cause of serious economic inconvenience, but the position will change for the worse as the supply of camels dwindles with the colonisation of grazing areas. The road problem of non-colony tracts will then present grave difficulties. The road system of the Lower Bári Doáb Colony was a part and parcel of the lay-out plan of the colony and was specially designed to meet the requirements of a rich canal tract, by a net-work of main feeder and village roads. Although the scheme is not yet complete and the state of the roads is capable of much improvement, it may be said generally that the cultivator has good access to the markets and railways. There are 80 miles of arterial roads of which 23 are metalled, and 606 main roads of which 18 only are metalled.

(c) River communications.

The Sutlej and the Chenáb are navigable for country craft and for steamers of light draught throughout their length in this district. Steamers, however, are now rarely seen and the extension of railways has very much reduced the carriage of goods by water. The dismantling of the Sutlej Valley Railway has restored some portion of the old transport of goods across the Sutlej from and to the Southern Punjab Railway, and there is a small volume of trade by boat between Sukkur and villages on the Sutlej and Chenáb.

Ferries.

The ferries are under the control of the District Board which leases them on annual contract. Each contractor is responsible for the supply of boats and boatmen and is limited in his charges to a scale of fees sanctioned by Government. The terms of his contract are framed for the protection of travellers, and on the whole, complaints are singularly few.

(d) Posts, Telegraph and Telephones.

The facts and statistics given in Tables Nos. 31 and 32 of Volume B show the postal facilities and the very large development that has occurred during recent years in the postal service. In spite of the rapid colonisation of the Khánewál tahsíl, and the limitations which financial stringency have placed in the multiplication of post offices, it may be said, on the whole, that the district is well served. The very large increase in the number of letters and articles delivered by mail and of money orders issued and paid, testifies to the spread of education and the growth of material resources.

The Government telegraph service has been extended to comparatively few places in the district, but the railway

telegraph supplements the service to the public and the canal system is available for official purposes.

The telephone system, which was formerly limited to official connections between the City Civil Lines and Cantonments, was in 1922 placed on a commercial basis and opened to the public. In August 1924 trunk communication was established between Multán, Lahore, Simla, Delhi and other important towns of Northern India.

SECTION H.—FAMINES.

The exiguous rainfall has always imposed very narrow limits to the extent of báráni cultivation, thus forcing the cultivator to depend on some artificial means of irrigation. The well has been his stand-by, and although, unaided by canal water, it cannot bring wealth or even reasonable comfort, it does protect the cultivator from the worst ravages of famine. It is, for this reason, that the district has been singularly free from really bad famines. There have been times of severe scarcity when the inundation canals have failed and the loss of agricultural stock has been widespread; but the crops raised round the well have saved the best well and plough cattle and have stood between the cultivator and actual starvation. In such years the load of debt is heavily increased, but recovery to a normal condition is relatively quick, though unfortunately not sustained, a further failure of the canals again resulting in a similar set-back. The change from a fixed to a fluctuating system of land revenue has done much to mitigate the vagaries of the seasons, and so well is the present system adapted to local conditions that relief is given automatically in bad years, thus obviating the necessity of remissions and suspensions.

CHAPTER III.

ADMINISTRATIVE.

A.—Administrative Divisions.

CHAPTER III, A.

Administrative Divisions.

Executive charges under native rule.

In the organisation of the Moghal kingdom described in the "Ain-i-Akbari", Multán was the head-quarters of one of the 'súbás' or provinces. It then contained properly three 'sirkárs' or divisions, Multán itself, Dipálpur and Bhakkar, but the newly annexed kingdom of Thatta with five more 'sirkárs' was also counted as part of the Multán súba. The 'sirkár' of Multán itself contained the whole of the present district and some little area outside it, and it was divided into five parganás.

In Sikh times, the number of talúqás or kárdáris was 20, but these were not necessarily each confined to one ring fence and villages belonging to one talúqa were often scattered about in other talúqas. The number of 'kárdáris' and their boundaries were also constantly being changed.

The list given by Edwardes of the kárdáris existing at the time of annexation is ("Year on the Punjab Frontier," Volume II, 13)—Luddan, Tibbi, Mailsi, Kahror, Nala Sadarwah, Bahadurpur, Kotli Adil, Panjáni, Gházipur, Multán, Khánpur, Khái, Shahpur, Sikandarábád, Shujábád, Sardárpur, Sidhnai and Tulamba.

Executive staff under native rule.

The ruler of the súba was known as súbadár or súba; but in the eighteenth century the title of 'názim' appears to have been gradually substituted. Under the súbadár in Moghal days was an enormous host of officials and semi-officials: 'mutsaddis' or clerks of innumerable departments, 'ijárádárs' or revenue contractors, 'jágírdárs' or revenue assignees, 'kárdárs' of the parganas, and so forth. For the repression of crime there were the 'barkandázes' under their 'faujdárs,' 'thánadárs,' 'kotwáls' and 'jamadárs.' The civil work was mainly in the hands of the 'qázis' and 'muftis'; and the practical work of securing the Government revenue was in the hands of innumerable village 'dabírs', 'patwaris', 'tappadárs', 'karoris' or 'bakhshis', whose accounts were controlled by a large staff of 'kanúngos', who, again, were accountable to kárdárs of the parganás.

Under Sáwan Mal the number of subordinates seems to have been much diminished. There was still a pretty strong central office of clerks at Multán, but their work was very strictly supervised by Sáwan Mal, who had himself risen

CHAPTER III, A.

Administrative Divisions.

Executive staff under native rule.

from the lower grades of the administration. At the same time the vast number of scattered officials, such as the kanúngos, etc., was much curtailed. For each kárdári—equalling, perhaps, in average area, the ordinary modern thána—the staff allowed was one 'kárdár' and one 'munshi'; and the kárdár was paid from Rs. 15 to Rs. 30 a month. At stated times he had to produce his accounts, and if there was complaint of exaction he was fined. For criminal offences the common punishment was fine (*chatti*); sometimes, however, mutilation was resorted to, and sometimes imprisonment; but the last could always be commuted to a fine paid by the prisoner or his relations. For ordinary murders the punishment was not necessarily severe; but for cattle theft the ordinary sentence was death by the sword. The extreme severity shown towards cattle thieves by the Diwan is often spoken of by the people, and contrasted with our present methods. One tale that is often told is that of Ali Dángra, one of the Diwan's assessors, who ventured to plead on behalf of a handsome young robber who was under trial, with the result that under the Diwan's express orders the robber was hung at Ali Dángrá's own door. Prisoners, both in Moghal and Sikh times, were confined in the various forts (*kots* or *thuls*), and had to beg their bread, as no food was provided by Government. The repression of crime, which under the Moghals is believed to have been entrusted to a more or less distinct staff, was under the Sikhs carried out by the members of the regular army. On the other hand the 'qázis', who, under the Moghals, were judicial officers, were now superseded by Government officials, known as 'adálatis', and their functions were strictly confined to the registration of documents and other formal duties.

Existing administration arrangements.

The district is under the administrative control of the Commissioner of the Multán Division whose head-quarters are at Multán, and is under the executive charge of the Deputy Commissioner who is also District Magistrate, Collector and Registrar. The latter is assisted in his executive work by Extra Assistant Commissioners the number of which does not usually exceed seven. Each of these exercises the powers of a Magistrate of the first class and at least one is invested with extended powers under section 30 of the Criminal Procedure Code. Two of them are mainly responsible for revenue work, one is in charge of the Treasury, and another is Sub-Divisional Officer of Khánewál where his head-quarters are situated, but, until recently, his chief duty was concerned with the colonization of the Lower Bari Doab Colony and his jurisdiction extended into the Montgomery district. In each of the six tahsíls there are a tahsíldar and two or more naib-tahsíldars. They are primarily responsible for the collection of the revenue, the supervision of the revenue staff and records and executive work in general; but they have

CHAPTER III, A.

Administrative Divisions.

Existing administration arrangements.

the powers of a Magistrate of the 2nd or 3rd class and dispose of a number of petty criminal cases.

The subordinate revenue staff was re-organised for the district proper at the Fourth Settlement and consists of the following establishment:—

Tahsíl.	Patwárís.	Assistant Patwárís.	Field Qánúngos.
Kabírwála	77	5	6
Multán	81	5	7
Shujábád ...	60	5	4
Lodhrán	65	5	5
Mailsi	63	5	6
Total	346	25	28

In the Khánewál tahsíl, where colonization is still incomplete, the number of kánúngos and patwárís has varied with the needs of the moment and the strength of the permanent establishment has still to be fixed.

The organisation of rural officers consists of zaildárs, inámdárs and lambardárs. At the Fourth Settlement, the zaildári and inámdári system was revised. Few changes were made in the zails, but a scheme was drawn up under which the number of inámdárs will be gradually reduced and the emoluments of each increased to an amount which, it is hoped, will act as an incentive to better service than they have been accustomed to perform in the past. The scheme is described in Appendices IV ~~and V of the~~ Final Settlement Report and the summary below gives the number of zaildárs in each tahsíl and the ultimate number of inámdárs:—

Tahsil.	ZAILDARS.				INAMDARS.		
	1st grade.	2nd grade.	3rd grade.	Total.	1st grade.	2nd grade.	Total.
Multán ...	4	8	3	15	6	6	12
Shujábád ...	3	6	3	12	4	5	9
Lodhrán ...	3	5	3	11	5	6	11
Kabírwála ...	3	8	3	14	5	7	12
Mailsi ...	3	5	3	11	3	4	7
TOTAL ...	16	32	15	63	23	28	51

CHAPTER III, B.

Civil and Criminal Justice.

The remuneration of the three grades of zaildárs is Rs. 350, Rs. 300 and Rs. 250, respectively, and of inámdárs Rs. 100 and Rs. 75, respectively.

Each revenue estate has ordinarily at least one lambardár and the larger estates have two or more according to the amount of the revenue and their past history. The past tendency was to make more lambardárs than were justified or necessitated by local circumstances, but the operation of succcessive schemes of reduction has mitigated, though it has not entirely removed, this defect. This loose character of the village organisation in the South-West Punjab has naturally had its effect on the powers and influence of the lambardárs who do not, as a body, command the respect shown to headmen in districts where the cultivation is less scattered and the village community is more homogeneous than in Multán. The effect of Government schemes of irrigation and colonization is to strengthen the traditional system of village government, since they not only add to the emoluments of lambardárs but they encourage the settlement of the rural population in village homesteads rather than on isolated wells.

Court of Wards.

The district being one of large holdings and of influential owners usually contains several estates which for one reason or another are under the Court of Wards. The number of these at present is small, but many of the leading families owe their solvency to the past assumption by Government of superintendence of their property during either minority or a period of financial stress. The Deputy Commissioner is *ex-officio* in charge of the Court and works through a General Manager, under whom are local managers, each of whom is ordinarily responsible for the management of a single estate.

B.—CIVIL AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE.

The chief Civil and Criminal Court of the district is that of the District and Sessions Judge who has his headquarters at Multán and whose jurisdiction includes the Muzaffargarh district. Under him, for purposes of civil work, are Sub-Judges, the majority of whom hold their courts at Multán, Khánewál being the only tahsíl to which a Sub-Judge is regularly appointed. The administration of criminal justice is carried out under the Sessions Judge, by the District Magistrate and his staff of stipendiary Magistrates. In addition, there are two benches of Honorary Magistrates at Multán itself, and a varying number of Honorary Magistrates exercising 1st and 2nd class powers.

Multán is not a criminal district. Murders are comparatively rare and other offences against the person far less common than in the North or Central Punjab; cattle theft

is a popular pastime along the rivers and elsewhere is regarded with indulgence except perhaps by the owner of the stolen cattle; matrimonial cases are very common and are the cause of much of the serious crime. There is no marked tendency for crime to increase, and the small rise shown in Table 34 of Volume B during recent years is more than accounted for by offences connected in one way or another with the new colony.

Nine-tenths of the civil suits relate to money claims and of the remainder about one-fourth are suits to establish preemption. But, allowing for the increase in population, the people seem to be no more litigious than they were thirty years ago.

Registration.

The Deputy Commissioner is *ex-officio* Registrar for the district and there is a Sub-Registrar at the head-quarters of each of the six tahsíls. Khan Bahadur Syad Makhdum Rajan Shah is Joint Registrar and does most of the registration work at Multán itself, but is not empowered to hear appeals. There has been an appreciable increase during recent years in the number of documents registered and this is especially marked in the case of documents where registration is optional.

C.—LAND REVENUE.

(a) Village Communities and Tenures.

The village community in Multán.

In the case of the greater number of the villages of the district, the village community, in the ordinary acceptation of the term, can scarcely be said to exist; they being for the most part mere aggregations into a fiscal circle of independent plots of cultivation, having no further bond of union than that of joint responsibility for the revenue imposed by the British Settlement system. Of this nature are all the estates of the interior. In the immediate neighbourhood of the rivers, communities are found which fall naturally under the definitions applied to the upper part of the province. In the remainder of the district cultivation is found only where wells have been sunk or means provided for canal irrigation, and is therefore scattered for the most part in isolated plots, each of which was independently cleared by its occupant, and under native governments bore its own assessment without reference of any kind to neighbouring plots.

Mr. Roe wrote in 1880:—

"In the tracts near the rivers the lands generally belong to Jat tribes, and here are found regular village communities, some of which still hold their land in common, whilst others have divided it, and in most cases lost all trace of the original shares. Away from the rivers the villages are generally merely a collection of wells, which have been sunk in the neighbourhood of a canal or in the more favourable spots in the high lands. In these there has never been any community of interest; in very many cases there is not even a common village site; each settler has obtained his grant direct from the State,

CHAPTER III, C.

Land Revenue.

sunk his well, and erected his homestead on it. Under our Settlements the waste land between these wells has been recorded, as a matter of course, *shamilat deh,* but originally the well-owners had no claim to it whatever."

Haq zamíndári.

But whilst this is the origin of many or most of the villages, there were other tracts where a particular tribe or family was undoubtedly recognized as holding a 'zamíndári' or proprietary right over all the lands, cultivated or uncultivated, which we call a 'mauzah' or village. This right was not, however, recognized under native rule as an exclusive one. If the 'zamíndár' could not bring his waste under cultivation the State had no hesitation in authorizing outsiders to do so; but the new settler had to pay a quit rent to the 'zamíndár' of half a ser in the maund as 'haq zamíndári' or 'wajah zamíndári' and if the zamíndár was a strong man he exacted an installation fee in addition. It often happened that the zamíndár would himself introduce outsiders and allow them to sink wells; in this case, too, the quit rent was fixed at the rate of half a ser in the maund, and an installation fee, under the name of *jhuri, lúngí,* or *siropa* was almost invariably taken.

Haq mukaddami.

The 'haq zamíndári' described in the preceding paragraph is closely connected with a similar due which was known as the 'haq mukaddami. We have seen how outsiders were introduced, either by the zamíndár himself or by the State, and how they had to pay haq zamíndári. But it often happened when the zamíndári family was numerous, and their land limited, that no outsiders were introduced. The various members of the family divided the lands amongst themselves, or, as was more commonly the case, each man brought what he could under cultivation without regard to any regular shares. Each became full proprietor of his own holding, but he had to pay half a ser in the maund as 'haq zamíndári' or 'mukaddami' to the head of the family. Sometimes, however, where the head was weak, or there was a dispute, the due was not levied. There can be little doubt that the 'zamíndári' and 'mukaddami' are one and the same due, that the original form was the 'mukaddami', and that this was somewhat the same as our 'lambardár's' fee. Indeed, this is admitted by most men who are not directly interested in maintaining the contrary. This due would originally be collected by the headman from all the proprietors, but when the number of outsiders became sufficiently great to give the headman a fair income from them alone, he would cease to collect from the proprietors of his own tribe. He would also do so when he was weak and required their support: for instance, when a young man wished to succeed his father to the exclusion of a richer or more powerful uncle; and in extreme cases he would promise not only to exempt his kinsmen, but even to divide amongst them the dues col-

Haq mukaddami.

lected from others. When this last practice has become firmly established, the due has ceased to be a 'mukaddami' or headman's fee; it has become the property of a whole family or 'zamíndári haq'; and the family speak of themselves as 'zamindárs' or 'ála máliks', in distinction to the settlers of other tribes, who are 'adna máliks' or 'chakdárs'. Along the Chenáb and in the west of Lodhrán this change has been complete, and the half ser in the maund is always spoken of as 'haq zamíndári'. But in part of Mailsi it is still sometimes spoken of as the 'mukaddami' and in more than one village the Settlement Officer in 1873—1880 was asked to abolish it on the ground that it was merely a lambardár's fee, and as such had been superseded by our 'pachotra'.

Hathrakhái.

In connection with the haq zamíndári, it is necessary to notice the arrangement known as hathrakhái, or 'placing under protection.' The 'zamíndári' was usually levied by the 'zamíndár' or his tribe from outsiders whom he or they had admitted. But sometimes a community of 'zamíndárs,' to obtain a lighter assessment, would voluntarily create this right against themselves in order to put themselves under a man of power and influence. By a fictitious sale they professed to sell him their entire village; he became the nominal proprietor, and by his influence obtained a light assessment: this was paid by the villagers, and the new proprietor received from them the usual 'haq zamíndári' of half ser in the maund, but beyond this he had no right in the village. On the establishment of English rule these nominal proprietors made great efforts to become real ones. Where their true position was known they were of course unsuccessful; but it occasionally happened that the court trying the claim was not very well acquainted with the peculiar features of the Multán tenures, and that the piece of paper on which the 'hathrakhái' arrangement was recorded was taken literally and accepted as a full deed of sale.

Chakdárs.

The settlers introduced by the State, or by the 'zamíndár' himself, into a 'zamíndár's' village, are known as chakdárs. The name is also applied to those proprietors of the 'zamíndár's' tribe who have continued to pay the 'haq zamíndári' or 'mukaddami' to their chief or chief's family, and it is sometimes even extended to settlers who have sunk wells under direct permission of the State in tracts where there has never been any one to claim a 'zamíndári' due. Thus when Diwán Sáwan Mal made his new canal, the Diwánwáh, through the Mailsi bár, he gave direct grants to settlers, proclaiming at the same time that if any one could establish a claim to 'zamíndári' it should be allowed; no such claim was established, but still the settlers were generally described as chakdárs. The supposed connection of the

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Chakdárs.

name with the wood-work of the well* and the payment of the 'zamíndári' gave rise to the idea that the 'chakdár' owned the well only; in fact that he was a capitalist who had sunk a well for the 'zamíndár' who remained the true owner of the soil, and could buy out the 'chakdár' on repaying him the money expended. This idea was still further encouraged by the fact that the 'chakdár' sometimes did not cultivate himself, but let his well to tenants, and it occasionally happened that the tenant was one of the old 'zamíndárs'. There was consequently rather a tendency at the commencement of our Summary Settlements to regard the 'chakdár' as an interloper who, by the power of money, was ousting the old family from its original rights. But this was quite a mistake; the 'chakdár', whether he got his title from the 'zamíndár' direct or through the State, always held his land in full proprietary right, subject only to the payment of a quit rent in the shape of the 'haq zamíndári'. Of course if he abandoned his land it reverted to the 'zamíndár', but this was because the latter was the owner of all the waste land and not in virtue of any contract entered into at the time of purchase. On the other hand, any right of cultivation enjoyed by the 'zamíndár' was acquired by a distinct contract between him as tenant on the one side, and the 'chakdár' as proprietor on the other; the terms of this contract might vary from that of a tenancy-at-will on a full rent to that of a permanent occupancy on a quit rent, but the original rights of the 'zamíndár' in no way influenced his position as tenant.

Kasúr Khawars.

Under native rule the revenue or *mahsúl* was taken in kind and as the rate approached in many cases that of a full rent there remained, after deducting the cultivator's and the State share, but a small fraction for the non-cultivating proprietors. This fraction was called 'kasúr' (the plural of 'kasar', and meaning 'fractions'). When this fraction was small it would be hardly worth the proprietor's while to go perhaps some distance to personally superintend the division of the crops; the rent he received from the cultivator with one hand was immediately almost entirely paid away with the other in the shape of the Government revenue, and he would remain responsible for any balances. Hence the custom would naturally spring up of the 'chakdár' allowing his tenant to pay the Government share direct to the Government official, and to give the 'chakdár' a fixed allowance in lieu of the actual balance. It is this fixed allowance which is now, and has for some time been, generally known as the haq-kasúr; and its general rate is two sers in the

* As a matter of fact the 'chak' is the plot of land round the well, and the wood-work of the well is never in this district spoken of as 'chak.'

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Land Revenue.

Kasur-Khwars.

maund, or one-twentieth of the gross produce. The 'chakdár' who received this allowance is called the 'kasúr-khor', or 'kasúr-khwár', the eater of the 'kasúr', but the word is often corrupted into 'kasúr-khwáh'. From his 'kasúr' the 'kasúr-khwár' has to keep in repair the brick-work of the well, and pay the 'haq zamíndári' of half a ser in the maund if there is one. Under the system of fixed cash assessment the permission to engage direct for the Government revenue has grown into a very valuable right; the 'chakdár' finds that he cannot recover his former position, and the only right left to him is the nominal ownership of the well, and the right to receive 'kasúr'. This 'chakdár' who has lost his right to engage is now the person generally meant by 'kasúr-khwár', and this position has frequently been conferred as a compromise on a man who has claimed a well of which he or his ancestor was undoubtedly the original proprietor, but from all possession of which he has long been excluded. When the Multáni Patháns were allowed on annexation to bring forward claims which would ordinarily have been barred by the law of limitation, in cases in which the claim was made out, it was almost invariably compromised in this way. The word kasúr is, however, still used occasionally in its original sense of the profits of the chakdár, who pays the revenue himself, and such a man is also occasionally known as *kasúr-khwár*.*

Present aspect of proprietary rights.

The account of the proprietary tenures above given explains the terms commonly in use among the people during the early years of British occupation. Some of these terms are still in use, but both the terms and the things which they represent are gradually becoming merged into the ordinary terminology and practice of the province at large. The 'haq mukaddami' is no longer recorded; the class of owners known as 'kasúr-khwárs' is confined to a very small number of villages chiefly near Multán; the zamíndár is to all intents and purposes an 'ála málik', and is entered as such in our records, while the chakdár is entered as an 'adna málik'. The over-proprietary of 'ála malkiat' tenure is no doubt much more common in this part of the province than in most other districts, but its incidents are practically the same as elsewhere, and old over-proprietary rights are by degrees dis-

* The 'kasur' is in fact the *mahsul* after deducting the revenue and this sense of the word survives in the phrase 'súd kasúr barábar,' which is applied to an ordinary usufructuary mortgage. The term 'kasúr' is now generally used to denote the share in the produce taken by a person who without owning the land provides part of the means of cultivation. It is most commonly applied to the share taken by owners of water-courses in return for water supplied to lands owned by other persons. In the neighbourhood of Luddan, too, it is not unusual to find a well sunk by a man in land in which he has no proprietary right, but from which he takes a share of the produce (known as 'kasur sil cháh') in return for the irrigation supplied by his well.

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appearing, being merged by sale or other forms of transfer in the ordinary under-proprietary or chakdár class of rights.

Common land.

The well area is in most cases the unit of proprietary right, and in Sikh times all land outside this belonged either to the State or to some 'zamíndár' (ála malik) who had some vague claim over it. When under English rule boundaries were regularly demarcated, a certain portion of the waste outside wells was included in the village areas. In villages where the 'ála máliks' had a claim to the waste, this was recorded as their common property, but elsewhere it was entered as 'shámilát deh'. The present common village land is thus for the most part a creation of our rule, and, compared with districts in the Central Punjab, Multán presents comparatively few cases of village shámilát. Where such land exists, it is now dealt with under the general rules applicable to the enjoyment and partition of common land.

The number of shareholders in private jointly-owned land varies greatly: on the one hand, there are large estates owned by individual proprietors; on the other, there are holdings which, owing to the action of Muhammadan law and other causes, are owned in the most confusing and minute of shares. As a whole, however, the shares are comparatively large, and the number of shareholders is not excessive. As a rule, too, a well estate is held in common, and it is the exception to find well estates partitioned.

(b) *Land Revenue under Native Rule.*

The systems of land revenue assessment prevalent under the various native Governments previous to annexation were of much the same general types. The theory throughout was that the Government were entitled to a share of the gross produce. This share was known as the *mahsúl*, and it might be taken in kind or in cash. The methods usually employed may be classified under four heads—(*i*) *jinsí*, (*ii*) *nakdí jinsí*, (*iii*) *zabti*, and (*iv*) *karárí*.

Produce.

(*i*) *Jinsí.*—The standard method and that most ordinarily employed was the assessment of a share in the actual crop (*jinsí*, *batái*, *bhaoli*). The share was taken after deduction of ordinary menials' dues and of crops actually used for fodder. What the rates actually taken were it is difficult to say, as these varied immensely, not only with the soil and position of the land, but also with influence and power of resistance enjoyed by the land-owners. Sir Charles Roe's opinion was that 'putting aside fear or favouritism, it may be said generally that one-third was the rate for sailáb lands; one-fourth for good well lands, and one-sixth and one-seventh

Produce.

for inferior wells. If, however, the rates of previous assessments recorded in the village records of the Second Settlement are to be trusted, the rates would seem, as a whole, to have been somewhat lower on 'sailáb' lands, while on canal aided wells the 'kharíf' or 'nahri' rate would be usually one-fourth, the rabi being one-fifth. The grain was not allowed to leave the threshing-floor until it had been inspected by a Government official, and it was then conveyed at the expense of the landholder to the nearest State granary.

Valuation of produce.

(ii) *Nakdi jinsí.*—A *nakdi jinsí* or cash-kind assessment indicated the first step towards a cash revenue, and the form of assessment became more common under Díwán Sáwan Mal than formerly. The *mahsúl* was still at a certain rate and was set aside at the division of the produce. But instead of its being carried off by a Government official, the landholder was made to purchase it at a rate fixed by Government which generally was something above the actual market price of the neighbourhood.

Fluctuating cash rates.

(iii) *Zabtí.*—The next stage towards a cash assessment was indicated by the assessment of cash rates per acre cultivated. These rates (known as 'zabtí' rates) were applied mainly to the better class of crops, such as indigo, sugarcane, etc., which it was difficult to divide; but they were also employed freely for all crops in tracts like the Ravi riverain, which were too far away from head-quarters to make the removal of the grain profitable to the Government. Where these rates were applied to cultivation generally, it was usual to exempt all crops used for fodder.

Fixed lease.

(iv) *Karárí.*—The three classes of assessment above mentioned were most commonly employed on 'sailáb' land and on lands receiving canal water only. They all represented more or less directly the original theory that the Government, as over-lord of the land, was entitled to a share in the produce, and the lands paying them were often spoken of as 'sirkárí'. In contradistinction to these lands were the areas, in which the landholder had himself, by constructing a well or otherwise, provided the means of cultivation, and in such areas (known as 'ikrárí' or 'karárí' areas) it was very common for the Government to grant a fixed assess-

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Fixed lease.

ment at a lump sum of money.* Such assessments were known as karárí or ikrárí (or sometimes as 'patái', the assessment being fixed by a deed known as a 'patta'). The amount ordinarily assessed for a well was Rs. 12, and was spoken of as the 'sath hunála panj siála', because Rs. 7 was taken in the kharíf and Rs. 5 in the rabi. Assessments higher than Rs. 12 were, however, not uncommon. No period was assigned for the rate, and it was presumed to last as long as the ruler who fixed it remained in possession; but it was of course possible for the ruler to vary the actual demand by his control over the cesses. The demand, too, appears to have been remitted when the wells went out of use. The 'karárí jama', however, covered not whatever land might be irrigated from the well but only the land mentioned in the 'patta', generally 15 to 20 acres per well. All extra cultivation was separately assessed at 'jinsi' or 'zabti' rates, and the better classes of crops, such as sugar, rice and indigo, were separately assessed, whether they were grown in excess of the fixed area or not. These cash lump assessments per well in the Utar and Ráwa tracts received a considerable impetus from Díwán Sáwan Mal, who settled with hundreds of landholders in new lands in this way.

Another special method of assessment sometimes employed for wells in the heart of the Ráwa, more especially on the borders of the present Multán and Lodhrán tahsíls, was to take a certain sum (generally Rs. 2 or Rs. 3) per yoke of cattle in use on the well. The assessment was thus lightened in bad seasons when the well went partially out of use.

Confusion and instability of the system adopted.

The above gives a much more orderly idea of the systems pursued than was actually the case in practice. The 'zabti' rates, for instance, differed enormously from village to village. In village *A* tobacco paid Rs. 3 and cotton Rs. 2-8-0 per acre; in *B* tobacco and cotton both paid Rs. 2-8-0; in *C* tobacco paid Rs. 10 and cotton Rs. 4; in *D* cotton paid Rs. 4 and tobacco Rs. 2; and so forth. Nor were the various systems applied uniformly throughout a tract or a village. Even in single holdings two or three different systems might be in force. At the end of this gazetteer are

* A survival of the old distinction between 'ikrárí' and 'sirkárí' lands is to be found in Mauza Ferozpur, Tahsíl Multán, where the payments made by the 'chakdárs' to the actual revenue payers or 'málguzárs' (a Multáni Pathán family) differ in the two classes of land.

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Confusion and instability of the system adopted.

appended specimens of deeds granted to landholders at various periods of native rule, from which can be gathered, far better than from any general description, the character of the assessments levied. And in regard to these assessments, a point to be remembered is that none of them was established with any degree of permanency, each being liable to be changed at any time for another at the request of the revenue payer or at the caprice of the ruler. Special exemptions by way of mafi or light assessments held good only for the life of the grantee and only for the life of the grantor and they were doubtless only renewed for a consideration. Nothing is more remarkable about the written sanads of native rulers than the persistence with which powerful native governors seem to have disregarded them, and the insistence with which each new grant especially declares that the local authorities were not to call constantly for its renewal: 'dar har fasl sanad mujaddad talab na dárand'.

Extra cesses.

The charges above noticed constituted the revenue demand proper. They may be termed the ordinary charges; but besides downright exaction there were many other items which were levied as a matter of course. The landholder had to pay *malba*, and the continuance of his 'karári' lease depended on his fully keeping up the cultivation of his 'jinsi' lands. In some places Rs. 8 per maund were charged as *moghala* or royalty on all indigo sold; in some tracts sums were levied as *shukrána* or thank-offerings; in others *nazrána* was demanded: this might take the form of an additional Rs. 2 or Rs. 3 on the cash 'jama', or it might be realized in the form of a horse or a lump sum of money. Sometimes, too, Rs. 2 or Rs. 4 per well were levied as *chári* or pasturage dues, and sometimes the crops used for fodder, such as gram, methra and chína, were charged at special rates. The grants given in Moghal times almost always contained a clause specially exempting the grantee from these cesses, and the scribes of those days delighted in letting their pens run on through the enumeration of these 'takálif' (as they were suitably called): the 'mubligh-i-báládasti, faujdári, lawázima, tappadárí, mohassilí, chára filán, peshkash, faslána, moharrirí, kánúngoí, chaudhri, sabíl muchalka, farmáish káh wa paikár wa hema wa hashrí, thánadárí, mihmání, talabána wa juramána wa ámilána, wa jaríbána, wa zábitána, wa dároghána, kharch dabír, tahrir diwáni, wakáia nawísi, tafrík chanda, begár wa shikár', etc., etc. After annexation Mr. Edgeworth found the following cesses in force in the Multán tahsíl: 'nazarcháhi', 'malba' (the same as our 'talabána'), 'dabíra, mohassilí, farohí, juft nargáo, ábiána, hissábána, kadam kash, dharat, goat tirni, orderly, guzrána and bhatti níl'. All these cesses were not, of course, exacted from every holding, but their bewildering number and detail indicates clearly the immense effect which

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First move towards fixed cash assessments.

they must have had in altering the character of the nominal revenue demand.

When the Punjab came under the political control of the British Government in 1844, the assessments of the Multán tract were left untouched, but elsewhere efforts were made to introduce by degrees the principle of a fixed cash assessment. When Sirdár Kahn Singh was sent on the ill-fated mission of 1848 to take over charge from Díwán Múlráj, he was ordered by the Lahore Darbár to make tentative experiments in this direction. The instructions given to him which are interesting in other ways also, are reproduced below:—

Orders of the Lahore Darbar to Sirdár Kahn Singh, Mán, March 31, 1848.

1st, regarding the Land Revenue.—You will receive the revenue arising from the rubbee harvest of 1905 according to the regulations in force under Díwán Múlráj's Government, whether it be by a fixed rate ('mushakhsa') or by 'chaslie,' or by 'kunkoot,' and in accordance with the existing practice, through his old 'kárdars'. If you think proper, appoint three or four clever men, and, after taking security from them employ them to look into the collection of the land revenue and enquire whether it be too high or too low and to prevent embezzlement, so that no loss may accrue to the Government.

Of the khureef harvest.—With a view to the future settlement, first obtain from the Díwán all papers connected with the last ten years' 'jumma' from the rubbee of 1895 to the khureef of 1904 and assume one-tenth of the total as the jumma for one year. Should there be any suspicion as to the accuracy of these papers after instituting a careful inquiry fix a suitable assessment, assemble all the 'zamíndárs,' and after devising the speediest method of collecting the revenue from them and from the 'malgoozars' carry it into practice.

Draw up books for each village, for it will often be found that the 'zamíndárs' are content with the old methods, and are averse to a fixed assessment ('mushakhsa'). With a view to fixing a proper and equitable 'jumma' take security from the Kutrees of the village, and make the contract assessment with them. In making the settlement of any district should any inconvenience arise, or should it appear that the old system of collecting the revenue be more for the advantage of the State and the good of the people; after mutual consultation continue to act according to the old system. When you have made the settlement, arrange for the appointment of tahsíldárs and treasurers after consultation and for their salaries. (Page 174 of Parliamentary Blue Book No. 41, 1849, Punjáb.)

(c) *Settlements under British Rule.*

Summary Settlements.

Immediately after annexation orders were issued for the introduction of fixed cash assessments throughaut the district. These orders were carried out by Lieutenant James for the Shujábád, Lodhrán and Mailsi tahsíls, and by Mr. Edgeworth, the Commissioner, for the greater part of Multán and Sarái Sidhu. This Settlement is commonly known as the 'Chârsálá,' having been based on the estimated value of the average collections of the four years previous to annexation. From the estimates so made the cesses and extra charges were deducted, and some further reductions were also made in some groups of villages in consideration of their general

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circumstances. The cultivation of the period cannot be ascertained, but on that of the Regular Settlement the rate of the assessment imposed would be Re. 1-5-0 per acre.

The First Summary Settlement was sanctioned in 1850 for a period of three years, but though carefully constructed on the data available it broke down before its term was concluded. The people felt severely the change from kind assessment to cash, more especially as the price rates assessed for the cash assessments were far higher than those actually prevailing during the Settlement; and they also felt very severely the sudden fixity of the demand in the canal and sailab areas. The assessment was found to be especially severe in the Shujábád tahsíl, remissions and reductions had to be granted, and a new Settlement was ordered. The Second Summary Settlement was carried out by Major Hamilton, Deputy Commissioner, for the Shujábád and Lodhrán tahsíls in 1853, and by his successor, Mr. H. B. Henderson, in 1854 for the other tahsíls. This Settlement was carried out with some elaboration. Though no field maps were made, the cultivation was measured, assessment circles framed, soils classed, produce estimates made, and the value of the Government share at certain prescribed fractions of the gross produce worked out. Reductions were granted in the tahsíls Shujábád and Lodhrán, where the former assessment had fallen hardest; but enhancements were taken elsewhere, and the total assessment fell only a little short of the previous demand. The fluctuating system, which at the First Settlement had only been tentatively retained in parts of the Mailsi tahsíl, was now extended in the form of a dialluvion assessment to all the areas directly affected by the river.

The total assessment thus imposed was not a heavy one, but, like its predecessor, this Settlement failed to give satisfaction. On the canal lands a fixed revenue continued to be taken in spite of the great variations in cultivation, and on the river areas the proposed varying system fell through, owing partly to the dislike of the zamíndárs to annual measurements, and partly to an unfortunate arrangement by which all new cultivation was assessed, not at any general or circle rate, but the average rate at which the Settlement assessment happened to fall on the cultivation of the village at Settlement.

First Regular Settlement.

It was to remedy these defects that the Regular Settlement was undertaken in 1857—1860 by Mr. Morris, afterwards Sir John Morris and Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces. The fields were measured and soils classified, but many of the elaborations of the previous Settlement were discarded and no produce estimates were framed. Average rates per acre for each class of soil and average rates

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Land Revenue.
First Regular Settlement.

per well for each well area were fixed on general considerations fortified by common sense and a fairly intimate knowledge of the district. The system of annual assessments for 'sailáb' lands was given up, and on canals the old fixed system was maintained; but in order to admit of a fixed revenue being taken from such varying conditions of cultivation Mr. Morris had to assess very low, and the result was a reduction of some 16 per cent. on the previous assessment.* Even with this low revenue, however, he recognized that special arrangements must be made to meet bad years; and in each village a certain portion of the revenue (averaging some 54 per cent. of the whole) was ear-marked as 'remissible' in case of any great and *general* failure of sailáb or canal irrigation. The scheme met with the fate that attends most schemes devised at Settlement which cannot afterwards be carried out automatically, in that it was never brought into action; and though there were some years in which the scheme of remission might have reasonably been utilized, yet, owing to the extreme lightness of the demand, no serious hardship was caused by this oversight.

Second Regular Settlement.

1873

Mr. Morris's assessment was sanctioned for ten years only; but no revision of his Settlement was ordered till 1873, when Mr. Roe (afterwards Sir Charles Roe and Chief Judge of the Punjab Chief Court) commenced the Second Regular Settlement. Mr. Roe adopted the same assessment circles and the same classes of soil as were used in the First Regular Settlement. In pursuance, moreover, of the orders then in force, he prepared a half net-assets estimate, and proposed soil rates, more or less based upon this estimate, but checked by the various other estimates then prescribed. For canal lands a special check was devised in the shape of 'crop rates' by which the village assessments could be differentiated according to the quality of the crops grown. The produce outturns assumed for the half net-assets estimate were distinctly full ones, but the prices assumed were very low, and the estimate, as a whole, was a lenient one; but this estimate, although not treated very seriously, sufficed to show that a very substantial increase in the revenue was called for, and a very substantial increase was taken, amounting, in the district as a whole, to no less than 41 per cent. This increase was necessitated to some extent by an extension of cultivation amounting to 16 per cent., but it was mainly caused by the need for making up the deficiencies of the previous assessments. The large increase was distributed over the villages with care and discretion, and the resulting assessment met with general approval in the district.

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* The exceedingly low assessment in the Regular Settlement was also largely due to the Settlement having been made in the year of the mutiny, during which the zamíndárs of this district had, as a whole, shown themselves extremely loyal.

Second Regular Settlement.

The question of fluctuating assessments had in this Revised Settlement to be once more faced; and a great step forward was made (chiefly on the initiative of the Financial Commissioner, Mr. Egerton) by introducing in the areas subject to the direct action of the rivers a system of absolute fluctuation. For canal lands a system of differential fluctuating crop rates was for a long time mooted in connection with the question of the abolition of 'chher' labour, but it was ultimately held that our arrangements for crop measurements, as then organized, were not sufficiently trustworthy to justify the adoption of a fluctuating system against the wishes of the 'zamíndárs'; and a scheme put forward by Mr. Lyall, Settlement Commissioner, for the remission of revenue on failed areas was ultimately adopted. This scheme took up the 'remissible' system of Mr. Morris and extended it from villages to holdings, so that for each holding irrigated by a canal at Settlement the revenue was divided into 'canal' or 'remissible' and 'non-remissible'. If in such a holding canal irrigation ceased or ran short, the owner could on application receive under certain rules a fitting amount of remission, limited, however, to the extent of the 'remissible' revenue imposed on his holding at Settlement. If, on the other hand, canal irrigation were extended to holdings not irrigated at Settlement, it would pay a light canal advantage rate (known as *beshi nahri*) of 8 annas per acre.

The land revenue demand of the Second Regular Settlement (excluding 'málikána' and date revenue) compares as follows with the previous assessments:—

		Rs.
First Summary Settlement	... =	5,94,151
Second Summary Settlement	... =	5,87,835
First Regular Settlement	... =	4,85,835
Second or Revised Settlement	... =	6,85,016

The new demands were introduced in the riverain circles of Kabírwála from rabi 1877, and in the rest of that tahsíl from kharíf of the same year. In the rest of the riverain circles and in the tarafs of Multán the new assessments came into force from rabi 1879, and in the remainder of the district from kharíf 1879.

The Third Regular Settlement.

The attempts made to introduce a strong element of fluctuation in the assessment again failed. Out of a total remissible revenue of Rs. 2,74,609, the average annual remissions prior to 1897 affected some Rs. 2,000 only, and out of some 90,000 holdings entitled to claim remission some 58 holdings only obtained on an average any remission in the year. In the meantime, however, several forces had been at work in favour of the fluctuating system. The opening of the Sidhnai Canal in 1886 was accompanied by an entirely

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The Third Regular Settlement.

fluctuating assessment in the area irrigated by it; and two years later fluctuating water rate charges were sanctioned for the Hájíwah canal. The 'chher' or statute demand for labour on the inundation canals was shortly afterwards made dependent on the area irrigated each year; and finally, a fluctuating assessment was substituted for a system of contract on the bár-báráni cultivation in the Mailsi tahsíl. The land-owner and tenant had thus some experience of the fluctuating system when Mr. Maclagan, afterwards Sir Edward Maclagan, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., the first Governor of the Punjab, commenced the Third Regular Settlement in October 1896; but the experience was limited and the fluctuating element then in force was too limited in scope to temper to any appreciable extent the insecurity attaching to a fixed assessment in a district where the crops are dependent on the caprice of river floods, assisted by an exiguous and uncertain rainfall. To Mr. Maclagan must be given the great credit of devising a system which, while of advantage to Government, gave to the cultivator that protection against the vagaries of the season which he had previously lacked.

A full description of the methods adopted will be found in Chapter IV of Mr. Maclagan's Final Settlement Report and in paragraphs 40—45 of his Assessment Report of the Kabírwálá tahsíl. In their original form his proposals were very simple. Well-cultivation was to pay a fixed assessment, but all other lands were to be subject to fluctuating rates. These were to be uniform for the same class of soil within a circle, though varying for different classes of soil and from circle to circle, and they were to be applied to matured areas only. No crop differentiation was proposed except with regard to occupiers' rates which were to replace 'chher' on the inundation canals. On the Sidhnai, the canal charges were to remain consolidated and the same set of soil rates was to be applied in both harvests. On all the canals, concession rates were to be given on lift irrigation and a crop following a rabi crop in the same harvest was to be exempt. The fixed assessment was recommended as suitable for all wells. New wells were to be given protective leases and old wells which became unuseable through no fault of the owners were to obtain remission of the fixed assessment.

While the essential principles outlined above were retained, certain changes in detail were made under the orders of Government. In the fluctuating part of the assessment, differentiation by crops was made for Sidhnai irrigation and for 'sailáb' and 'ábi' lands; and in the fixed portion of the assessment, an important element of fluctuation was introduced by making the demand payable only on wells in use. The fluctuating crop rates, however, were still kept uniform within the same circle, and, in so far as they did not pro-

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vide automatically for differences between various estates, it was necessary to redress inequalities by local variation of the fixed demand. How this was done can best be described in Mr. Maclagan's own words:—

"To assess the wells adequately and in such a manner as to combine due elasticity with a proper regard to the varying rates of profit in various villages was one of the most important problems to be dealt with in the settlement, but it will suffice, without detailing the various alternatives possible and proposed, to notice briefly the features of the scheme actually adopted. The main point of the scheme was that each well should be assessed at a lump sum in respect of the assets not touched by the fluctuating rates. This lump assessment was imposed not on any particular area but on the well itself as representing the source of cultivation. The assets on which this assessment was made are not, however, confined to the assets proper, of which the well could be said to be the author, nor is the differentiation between the well assessments of different villages based merely on the differences in quality between the several wells. We have, for the sake of simplicity, adopted uniform canal-advantage and sailab rates applicable to whole tahsíls or whole tracts of country, it being considered inconvenient and impracticable to devise varying rates adapted to the varying circumstances of each estate and holding. In adopting these uniform rates, we naturally chose a figure somewhat lower in each case than the average half net-assets would justify, and so we left a certain amount of the assessable canal and sailab profits untouched by the fluctuating nahri and sailab rates. With reference to the sailab rates, this was not a matter of much importance owing to the considerable increase taken in the sailab revenue and to the recognised fluctuations in sailab profits. In the case of canal lands, however, the differences in the quality of the crops in different estates could not be neglected and, in default of the adoption of separate fluctuating rates for each separate village or group of villages, we have taxed the greater part of the remaining assets by enhancing the lump assessments which have been imposed upon the wells. As a large amount of the pure canal irrigation lies within the boundaries of well estates, we have thus been able to differentiate between the various well estates not only on the basis of the well assets proper, but also in respect of the canal irrigation received by the well estate. The system is admittedly an imperfect one, as it does not touch the variations in canal lands which are not attached to wells, but it will, it is believed, be found suitable for practical purposes, and is, in any case I think, preferable to the alternative course of varying our fluctuating rates to meet the circumstances of each village or holding".

The well assessments in some cases thus included more than the State share of the profits due solely to the well, and as a result they were heavy in parts of the Shujábád tahsíl. On individual wells, they varied between Re. 1 and Rs. 100. On the Sidhnai wells the assessment was uniform at Rs. 5 per well.

The above description refers to the method introduced over the greater part of the district. Certain local variations must be mentioned. In the Utar, Ráwa and Hithár-Rávi circles of Kabírwála tahsíl, and in part of the Ráwa circle of Mailsi, the assessment was entirely fluctuating. In the Atráf of Multán, four estates of the Multán tahsíl, and on land on the Hájiwáh canal, owned by the Khákwáni Kháns and their relations, an entirely fixed demand was imposed. In

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addition, special assessments were imposed on date-palms, gardens and 'sajji' amounting for the district as then constituted to Rs. 24,746, Rs. 3,242 and Rs. 510, respectively. In two villages a separate assessment was put on the village waste, and Government lands, though assessed in the first place exactly as proprietary lands, were also subject to fixed or fluctuating málikána. The basis of the assessment was the half net-assets estimates framed separately for each assessment circle and each class of soil. From them were deduced crop rates to be applied to matured areas. They were prepared with great care and a special feature was the liberal allowance made for landlords' expenses, among which the more important items were the cost of silt clearances, menial dues and fodder concessions. The yields assumed were described as 'safe though not unduly lenient', and the prices as 'fair'. The estimate was framed on lines rather less favourable to Government than was then customary, and this fact has to be borne in mind in considering the apparently high proportion of its theoretical share taken by Government. In no tahsíl was this less than 88 per cent. and in Multán and Kabírwála it was 94 per cent.; but in the two latter tahsíls the consolidated rates on Sidhnai irrigation included both land revenue and occupiers' rates.

The estimated new demand for the district as a whole was 30 per cent. more than that of the previous five years and the enhancement varied between 5 per cent. in Lodhrán and 38 per cent. in each of the Multán and Shujábád tahsíls. The average incidence per matured acre was Re. 1-10-6.

The assessment imposed, excluding málikána and date revenue, for each tahsíl, as then constituted, was as follows:—

	Multán.	Shujábád.	Lodhrán.	Kabírwála.	Mailsi.	Total.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Assessment imposed.	3,67,282	2,74,391	1,01,018	3,87,364	1,49,789	13,39,844

Of the total assessment about 75 per cent. was fluctuating and 25 per cent. was 'fixed'; but even the latter contained a fluctuating element since the so-called fixed well assessment was imposed only when the well was in use.

The system introduced by Mr. Maclagan was profitable to the State, since, subject to reasonable concessions for improvements, it allowed the assessment of new resources as they came into existence, and the profit to the State between

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the Third and Fourth Settlement may be estimated at 20 per cent. on this account alone. It proved to be well suited to the conditions of the district, since the automatic adjustment of a large part of the demand to seasonal conditions prevented the State claims from being at any time burdensome. The assessment when imposed was regarded as full, but two facts gave almost immediate relief. The upward movement in prices began before the introduction of the new settlement and has continued ever since; and a very liberal scale of *kharába* allowance during the early years of the Settlement had a marked effect on the actual incidence of the demand. It may, indeed, be assumed that the scale was more generous than the Settlement Officer had contemplated, and the large power that the system of assessment places in the hands of subordinate officials must be accounted its chief defect. This, however, is inseparable from a fluctuating assessment in a district where agricultural conditions are very unstable. The people would on no account return to a system of fixed revenue, and their views provide the best proof of the success of the drastic changes made at the Third Settlement.

The Fourth Regular Settlement. 1917

Mr. Maclagan's Settlement was sanctioned for a period of 20 years and the Fourth Regular Settlement was commenced by Mr. H. W. Emerson in October 1917. In the meantime, a large portion of the old tahsíl of Kabírwála had been transferred to the Khánewál tahsíl which was excluded from the assessment, except for a group of 35 estates situated along the Rávi in the extreme north of the tahsíl. Rai Sahib Pandit Nand Lal, Extra Assistant Settlement Officer, did the assessment of the Lodhrán tahsíl, while Mr. Emerson was responsible for other tahsíls.

The system introduced in the Third Settlement had served both the Government and the people so well that the wisdom of maintaining it unaltered in all essentials was self-evident. The general method of assessment now in force therefore consists of a lump sum assessment on wells collected only when the wells are in use and associated with a fluctuating assessment on all matured crops except pure *cháhi*. The departures from this general system include (*a*) a purely fixed assessment in the Atráf circle of Multán tahsíl, on the lands owned by the Khákwáni Kháns and their relations in the Hájiwah estates of Mailsi and on four estates in the Multán tahsíl of which the whole or the greater part of the revenue is assigned to wealthy jágírdárs; (*b*) a purely fluctuating assessment in the Utar circle of Kabírwála and in part of the Ráwa circle of Mailsi; (*c*) the demand in the Sidhnai circles includes occupiers' rates.

While the essential principles of Mr. Maclagan's system were retained, a few changes in detail were made in order to give greater elasticity to the assessment. Among these

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may be mentioned the differentiation in rates between the main Sidhnai canal and its subsidiaries; the variation from well to well of the lump sum well assessment on the Sidhnai system; and bolder discrimination in rates on the various inundation canals. The general result was still further to increase the proportion borne by the fluctuating demand to the whole.

Garden assessments.

At the Third Settlement a separate assessment was imposed on gardens, but this was light and amounted to Rs. 3,200 only for the whole district. At the Fourth Settlement it was found that the area under orchards had largely increased, while the profits to the owners were often substantial. A large enhancement was therefore practicable and the assessment actually imposed was Rs. 15,300 part of which, however, was deferred in the case of gardens which had not come into full bearing. In addition, the orchards are subject to fluctuating assessment under the ordinary rules.

Financial results.

The somewhat complicated nature of the assessment makes it difficult to estimate with any degree of exactitude the increase taken at the Fourth Settlement. Under the new system, as under the old, the demand fluctuates largely from year to year according to the cropping and to the number of wells in use, while there are many wells for which the assessment is deferred under the system of protective leases. An exact comparison is therefore not practicable. If, however, the remissions on protected wells are included in the demand, and if, further, it is assumed that the areas and kinds of crops with the number of wells in use will on the average be the same as for the years selected for assessment purposes, then the new demand will average Rs. 21,76,000 approximately for the five tahsíls. This represents an increase of 32·8 per cent. on the old demand, the maximum enhancement being 36 per cent. in the Kabírwála tahsíl and the minimum being 28 per cent. in the Shujábád tahsíl.

The new assessments came into force from the following harvests in the various tahsíls:—

Kabírwála ... ... Kharíf 1919.
Mailsi ... ... Kharíf 1920.
Multán, Shujábád and Lodhrán Kharíf 1922.

As the orders relating to the period of the Settlement had to provide for the probable introduction of perennial irrigation in large tracts of the district, it was not possible to stabilise the canal rates for any fixed term of years. These are subject to modification if and when perennial canal irrigation is given, and on the Sidhnai canal the further power has been reserved to impose occupiers' rates when the above condition is fulfilled. For the rest, all rates other than canal

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rates and all fixed assessments will be maintained for 30 years with effect from the date of their introduction.

The assessment of date trees.

The date trees in the district have always been regarded as liable to the payment of revenue, and in accordance with previous practice the fruit bearing palms were assessed at the Fourth Settlement. With the exception of a few villages along the Ravi where the palms had deteriorated owing to lack of water, large increases had taken place during the previous 20 years in the number of trees and in the value of the fruit. In several tahsíls, the trees had so multiplied as to place a limit on the enhancement in rates and those actually imposed were very moderate in comparison with the average profits to the owners. The statement below compares the assessments of the Third and Fourth Settlements for the five tahsíls:—

	At Third Settlement.	At Fourth Settlement.
Number of trees assessed	299,535	372,644
Assessment imposed	Rs. 23,400	Rs. 34,589
Average rate per tree	Re. 0-1-3	Re. 0-1-6

The assessment of urban lands.

At last Settlement, a special assessment was imposed on certain urban lands situated within the Atráf or six suburban estates of Multán city and the adjacent estate of Qutabpur. The classification of lands for the purposes of assessment was primarily in six groups, of which the first four were determined according to locality, the fifth included all potential building sites, while the sixth comprised all land at a considerable distance from the city and occupied by mills. Within the first four groups, a sub-classification was carried out according to the use to which the land was put, and as, in a large city like Multán, the value of, and the income from, urban property varies enormously within a small area in accordance with a variety of causes, the rates of assessment on individual holdings covered a wide range, the Settlement Officer being allowed to differentiate in any of the six groups between Rs. 5 and Rs. 80 per acre. Where the assessment for a single holding was less than 4 annas, the assessment was remitted. The total realizable demand amounted to Rs. 4,300 approximately and was sanctioned with effect from Kharíf *1921* for a period of *30 years*.

The system of protective leases for wells.

The system of cultivation on the inundation canals, under which the maturing of the rabi crops is very largely dependent in an ordinary year on well irrigation, provides

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a strong incentive to owners of land to sink new wells and to keep old ones in a good state of repair. In order to encourage a form of private enterprise which is of much economic importance to the district, Government, at the Fourth Settlement, granted more liberal terms than those previously in force in regard to the remission of a portion of the assessment on wells. As previously explained, a well only pays the fixed assessment imposed on it in a year in which it is actually in use, but, in addition to this concession, protective leases are granted to newly sunk wells, to disused wells made capable of use and to working wells on which it has been necessary to spend a substantial sum in repairs. For all classes the remission extends to the assessment, whether fixed or fluctuating, imposed or liable to be imposed, on purely well irrigated crops, while the period of remission varies according to the expenses incurred and the profits accruing. In the Ráwa where the wells are very deep and the profits relatively small, remission on a new well is given for 40 years; in the Hithár circles where the conditions are most favourable the term is for 20, and in other circles it varies between 20 and 40 years. For disused wells newly brought into use and for the repair of working wells, the actual expenses incurred determine the periods, which ordinarily should not exceed 15 and 10 years respectively. The conditions are in all cases very generous and should do much to encourage the extension of wells.

D.—MISCELLANEOUS REVENUE.

Excise.

As Multán is predominantly a Muhammadan district, it is of minor importance from the point of view of excise administration. The consumption of country liquor is small and the number of shops in which it is sold by retail has now been reduced to thirteen only—or to one-fourth of the number allowed twenty-five years ago. Illicit distillation is rare and sales of illicit liquor relate mostly to petty transactions by unlicensed dealers. There is a very large consumption of 'bhang'; and 'charas' and opium are also consumed in fairly large quantities. If the statistics can be trusted, the sale of all these drugs has declined of late years; but a cursory examination of the revenue figures in Table 41 of Part B will show how very rapidly receipts have increased consequent on successive enhancements of duty and auction fees, and it is to be feared that the large profits now procurable by illicit traffickers in drugs have resulted in smuggling on a considerable scale which has been encouraged by the drastic reduction in the number of retail shops.

Income-tax.

Tables 42 and 43 of Volume B give details regarding the collections of income-tax. Since the Income-tax Department was re-organised and district officers relieved of

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duties which they had not time to perform, there has been a very large increase in total receipts and this, despite the fact that the minimum income liable to assessment has been raised to Rs. 2,000. Multán city accounts for more than one-half of the total number of assessees and the rich mandis of the Khánewál tahsíl for most of the remainder. The number of rural *assessees* is comparatively small, although there has been an enormous increase in the number of those assessed on incomes of more than Rs. 2,000 since 1919-20. This, of course, does not mean that there has been a corresponding increase in the material prosperity of the district, the improvement in the figures indicates for the most part greater success on the part of the Income-tax Officer and his assistants in tracing out those who in the past evaded payment of the tax.

Stamps.

The income from stamps both judicial and non-judicial has more than doubled during the past twenty years and now amounts to nearly Rs. 3 lakhs each year. The rate of increase has been about the same for each class of stamps.

E.—LOCAL AND MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

The District Board

The District Board administers the local funds of the whole district with the exception of those vested in the Cantonment Board and the Municipal or Notified Area Committees. Its interests are almost entirely rural and, in contrast with the Municipal Committees, the members are drawn mainly from the class of large land-owners. The constitution of the Board has been recently revised so as to increase the proportion of elected members who now number 28 out of a total of 42; of the remainder 6 are *ex-officio* members while 8 are appointed by name. The Deputy Commissioner is Chairman and there are two Vice-Chairmen who are elected by the Board. A meeting is usually held each month and the disposal of business is facilitated by the existence of sub-committees for the more important subjects such as Finance, Public Works, Education, etc. The Board has an office and hall at Multán and employs a fairly large staff of servants, the chief executive salaried officers being the Secretary and the District Engineer. The Board, subject in some cases to the supervision of the Government Department concerned, exercises control over the construction and maintenance of non-provincial roads, the establishment and management of hospitals, dispensaries, veterinary institutions, 'saráis,' rest-houses and schools, the planting and preservation of trees, the management of cattle-pounds and ferries; and other measures for the promotion of the health and convenience of the rural population. It has of late years done excellent work in the cause of education and there is a tendency to devote an undue share of the income to this department, but good progress has been made

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in the establishment of hospitals and dispensaries for man and beast, and much has been done in planting the main roads with trees. The attendance of members is good, and a few take a personal and practical interest in the furtherance of the public work of the Board; but, to many, memberships still means merely a distinction rather than an opportunity for civil service.

Financially, the Board is more favourably situated than those of many other districts, but its income is insufficient to carry out the numerous improvements so necessary to the welfare of the people, and considerable difficulty will be experienced when the creation of a new district deprives it of the revenue now derived from the Khánewál tahsíl. The chief source of the Board's own income is the local rate, which fluctuates from year to year with the land revenue, educational and other fees, the lease money of ferries, a tax on non-agricultural professions and the proceeds of sale of trees are other sources of direct income. This alone, however, is far from sufficient to meet the recurring liabilities of the Board which is dependent to a considerable extent on grants-in-aid from Government towards education, medical relief and other activities.

The statement of income and expenditure given in Table 45 of Volume B shows a large increase on both sides of the account during recent years and illustrates the way in which the resources of the district have expanded, as well as the ever-growing demands on the Board.

Municipalities and Notified Areas.

There are two municipalities:—Multán and Shujábád and seven notified areas:—Kahror, Tulamba, Jalálpur Pirwála, Dunyápur, Mián Channun, Jehánián and Khánewál. The towns with notified area committees have a population of less than 10,000 and only those provisions of the Municipal Act are extended to them that are necessary for a simple form of local self-government. The first four will shortly come under the operation of the Small Towns Act which it is proposed to apply to Mailsi, Kabírwála and Serái Sidhu also.

Multán Municipality.

The municipality of Multán was constituted in 1867 and has been of the first class for many years. The boundaries have been revised from time to time, the most recent amendment being that published in Punjab Government Notification No. 180, dated the 17th March 1916. They do not correspond with the octroi limits which include the greater part of cantonments. The constitution of the Committee consists of 24 members of whom 20 are elected and 4 are nominated. The elected members are returned on a communal basis; 10 seats being allotted to Muhammadans and 10 to other communities. The elections are keenly contested

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Multan Municipality.

and the affairs of the municipality excite much public interest, which unhappily is not always of a healthy character. The President and the two Vice-Presidents are elected by the Committee and are all non-officials.

The income of the Committee is large and has increased from less than 2 lakhs in 1901-02 to more than 6 lakhs in 1921-22. Part of the increase, however, is attributable to more generous grants-in-aid from Government. At the close of 1921-22 the Committee had a balance in hand of nearly two lakhs, but this was ear-marked for several large schemes the execution of which had been postponed from time to time and the finances are not so good as this balance would suggest. The income, however, is sufficient to meet present recurring charges and, within limits, to cover interest and sinking fund charges on new loans, but it is not sufficiently large to finance out of revenue the important improvements contemplated by the Committee.

More than half the revenue is derived from octroi, and this is the only form of taxation of any importance; grants-in-aid from Government exceed Rs. 1¼ lakhs and the balance is derived mainly from interest on investments, conservancy receipts and the rent of nazul lands under the management of the Committee. If interest on investments and extraordinary revenue is excluded, the normal income is about 5½ lakhs. The normal expenditure is about the same, the most important charges being education (on which more than one lakh is spent) the maintenance of roads, conservancy, lighting, medical relief, the collection of taxes and general administration. The incidence of octroi taxation per head during 1921-22 was Rs. 4-12-10 of which Rs. 2-1-5 represented the taxation of articles of food.

Most of the streets and lanes in the city are paved and the main roads are metalled with stone ballast. The outfall of the sewage of the city is at present at three sites outside the city walls, the city drainage being collected by open drains converging on a large open drain outside the city wall, which in its turn conducts the sewage to the municipal sewage farm. A scheme for the introduction of a better system is at present under consideration. Street sweepings are removed by cultivators on licenses which are given at the rate of Re. 1-8-0 and Re. 1 per bullock per mensem, the lower rate being taken from the cultivators living outside the municipal limits.

The water supply is dependent on wells in the streets and attached to private houses: the water is good and the supply is fair, but the Committee has under contemplation an up-to-date system of supply which it is hoped will be shortly taken in hand. The lighting of the streets is now done by Kitson, petrol and ordinary oil lamps, but a scheme

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to introduce electric lighting is now well advanced. The project is being undertaken by a private company of which Rai Sahib Seth Prabh Dyal has been the moving spirit, but the Municipal Committee has provided half of the capital in the form of a loan of Rs. 5 lakhs.

On the whole, it may be said that the Multán Municipality is progressive and enterprising; it has conceived large schemes of improvement and is prepared to raise the loans necessary to bring them to completion; it maintains a fair standard of efficiency; and although communal are sometimes placed before public interests it has to be remembered that the past and recent history of the town precludes cordial relations between the two chief communities, and it is creditable to the Committee that, except on one or two occasions, it has kept ill-feeling inside its own body within reasonable bounds.

Shujábád Municipality.

Shujábád with a population of less than 7,000 is a municipality of the 2nd class. Its constitution consists of 8 members of whom 6 are elected and 2 are nominated. There are four Muhammadan wards and two other wards. The figures of income and expenditure will be found in Table 46 and call for little remark. Previous to 1921 the normal income was about Rs. 30,000, but it has since increased by nearly Rs. 10,000. It is derived mainly from octroi, the only other items of importance being grants-in-aid from Government and school fees. The incidence of taxation is Rs. 3-7-6 per head and the incidence of income per head is Rs. 5-11-3. Education claims a large share of the income and other heavy charges are conservancy, roads and establishment. The Committee is fairly efficient.

Notified Area and Small Town Committees.

With the exception of Kahror and the two colony towns of Khánewál and Mián Channun, the income of the Notified Areas and Small Town Committees is below Rs. 10,000. This suffices to provide a simple system of conservancy and lighting and in the richer towns, to support education and medical relief. In the past, the members have all been nominated, but the change in status to that of Small Town Committees will be accompanied by the introduction of the elective principle in these committees to which the Small Towns Act is to be applied. In each of the latter there will be five members of which four will be elected and one nominated. The constitution of the Notified Area Committees is as follows:—

	Ex-officio.	*Appointed by name.*	*Total.*
Khánewál	5	5	10
Mián Channun	4	4	8
Jehánián	4	3	7

F.—PUBLIC WORKS.

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Public Works.

The Building and Roads Branch of the Public Works Department is under the administrative control of the Superintending Engineer of the Ráwalpindi circle and is in executive charge of the Executive Engineer, Multán Division, who is also responsible for the districts of Montgomery, Muzaffargarh and Dera Gházi Khan. The control of the canals is less self-contained. The inundation canals are under the Superintending Engineer, Deraját circle, with two Executive Engineers, one for the Chenáb and Rávi Canals and the second for the Sutlej Canals. The Superintending Engineer, Montgomery circle, is in administrative charge of the Lower Bári Doáb Canal, but irrigation within the district is divided between the Montgomery and Khánewál Divisions. In connection with the Sutlej Valley Project two circles and four divisions affect the district. The District Board and the Municipalities have their own engineering establishment, but large schemes, even though chargeable to local funds, are scrutinized by the Superintending Engineer concerned before administrative sanction is accorded. The District Board has no important projects under consideration, but the Municipal Committee, Multán, has had under consideration for some time a combined water-supply and drainage scheme and the construction of a new hospital. The supply of electricity to Multán city and cantonments is being carried out by a private firm.

By far the most important public work affecting the district is the Sutlej Valley Project. The tahsíls which will receive irrigation are Mailsi, Lodhrán and Shujábád where it is estimated that 701,000 acres now unirrigated will recieve water, while the irrigation of 905,000 acres (of which about 300,000 acres are on the average irrigated each year) now under cultivation on the inundation canals of the Sutlej will be greatly improved. The whole project involves the construction of four weirs, but Multán is directly concerned with two only of these at Suleimánke in the Montgomery District and at Islam near the existing head of the Mailsi canal. Irrigation within the district from the former will be both perennial and non-perennial. The main canal after passing through part of the Pákpattan tahsíl will enter the district about 3 miles south of the old bed of the Beás and will include the whole of the Nili Bár in the Mailsi and Lodhrán tahsíls, where perennial irrigation will be given. The greater part of this area is now uncultivated, but a few estates, which receive an insecure supply from the tail distributaries of the inundation canals, will be given permanent irrigation. The greater part of the area now watered by the Sutlej canals will, however, come under kharíf channels. A non-perennial branch from the main canal above mention-

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ed will serve the villages to the east of the Mailsi tahsíl, while the canal taking out above the Islám weir will irrigate the remaining estates dependent on the existing Sutlej canals and situated outside the limits of perennial irrigation. The system of cultivation on the kharíf channels will be much the same as at present, in that it will involve the combination of wells and canals, but for several reasons it will be far more efficient. The supply will no longer be dependent on the caprice of the river and the maintenance of particular heads. The canals will open earlier and will close later; the cultivation of cotton and indigo will be assured; there will be water for large sowings of wheat and other crops; the re-alignment of the main branches and the various distributaries and minors will secure better command; the abolition of private channels will prevent the enormous wastage that now occurs and the water available will be distributed on scientific principles. The full advantages of this part of the scheme will not, however, be reaped until the number of wells has been greatly increased. For some years to come, the cultivator will sow a larger area in the rabi than his wells can mature and the area of failed crops will probably be extensive. But the Multáni knows so well the supreme value of wells that he will not be slow to grasp the significance of the changed conditions and he will spend the profits that the improved supply of canal water will give him on the sinking of new wells.

The area to come under perennial irrigation consists mainly of Crown lands and the project thus involves far-reaching schemes relating to soil survey, rectangulation, selection and settlement of colonists, the development of communications, the establishment of new 'mandis' and the hundred and one problems which the colonization of a barren tract brings in its train. The engineering portion of the scheme is, at the time of writing, well in hand, and it is hoped that irrigation will commence in 1926-27.

After the construction of the three upper weirs a fourth weir at Panjnad, near the south-western corner of the district, will be built. Although this will not benefit Multán directly, it will provide from the Chenáb for areas in Baháwalpur State which are now irrigated partly from the Sutlej, thus making larger supplies from the latter river available for Multán. It also renders possible the construction of the Haveli Project without prejudice to the Baháwalpur State. A canal is to be dug connecting the Chenáb just below its junction with the Jhelum with the Rávi just above the Sidhnai Weir. Not only will the Sidhnai canal then receive a more secure and abundant supply, but the main inundation canals of the Chenáb will be linked up with it and so be largely independent of seasonal fluctuations in the river

When the Sutlej Valley and the Haveli Projects are complete, the Multán district should be one of the most prosperous in the province.

CHAPTER III, C.

Army.

G.—ARMY.

For military purposes, Multán is included in the Lahore district and the Ferozepore Brigade Area. Its normal garrison has been much reduced during the last two or three years and now consists of the following regular troops:—

1 Battalion British Infantry.

2 Training Battalions Indian Infantry.
Station Supply Depôt.

1 Bullock Troop.

Local members of the Auxiliary Force number about 200.

The Cantonment is commanded by the Senior Colonel and the staff consists of a Station Staff Officer (2nd Class), and Executive Commissariat Officer, Senior Medical Officer, Chaplain and the Executive Officer, Cantonment Board.

Cantonments.

The cantonments are situated about three miles from the city and the new Fort, which is usually garrisoned by 1 Coy., British Infantry, is at a further distance of about one mile. The cantonment authority is the Cantonment Board which has taken the place of the old committee and is constituted as follows:—

(*a*) Officer Commanding, Station.

(*b*) 1st Class Magistrate.

(*c*) Health Officer.

(*d*) Executive Engineer.

(*e*) Military Officers (not exceeding 4).

(*f*) Such number of members elected as is equal to the number of members appointed, or nominated, by or under clauses (*b*) to (*e*).

The Officer Commanding the Station is the Chairman, and the Executive Officer is the Secretary. The income of the Board was about Rs. 80,000 in 1919-20 and was derived mainly from octroi which, as the cantonments are included in the octroi limits of the Municipal Committee, is collected by the latter body, one-tenth of the net receipts being fixed as the share of cantonments. There is also a conservancy tax and a tax on houses, while the rent of houses and lands, the sale of manure and a tax on trades and professions each yields a fair income. The main items of expenditure are conservancy, lighting, establishment and roads.

H.—POLICE AND JAILS.

The police of the district are under the executive control of the Superintendent of Police and under the administrative control of the Deputy Inspector-General, Western

CHAPTER III, H.

Police and Jails.

Range, whose head-quarters are at Ráwalpindi. The force is distributed between 20 thánás of which 18 are rural; the other two comprising Multán city and Multán cantonment respectively. Each rural thāna or police station is in charge of a Sub-Inspector who is usually assisted by two Head Constables and from 8 to 13 Constables, a very small force having regard to the large area within the jurisdiction of a thána and the multifarious duties the rural police are called upon to perform. The distribution of police stations also is far from satisfactory, since insufficient provision has been made for the tracts, especially in the Khánewál tahsíl, which have shown rapid development in resources and population. The city force is comparatively strong and comprises almost as many constables as the whole of the rest of the district, but experience has shown that it is hardly adequate for the many tasks it is called upon to perform, since the presence of the Courts and of a large city throws upon it much miscellaneous work which the rural police escape. Linked up with, and manned from, the thánás are various out-posts and rural posts which serve the purpose of prevention of crime and the forwarding of arrested persons.

The district itself supplies relatively few constables, the majority of whom are recruited from the Northern districts of the province.

The working of the police, as shown by the statistics of Table 48 of Volume B, would appear to be very variable, and it is at first sight difficult to understand why in one year one-half of the reported cases should end in conviction while in the next the proportion should drop to one-third. The number of cases reported also varies greatly from year to year and to an extent which is not wholly explained by the large amount of petty crime associated with years of scarcity. The probable explanation of much of the variation is to be found in the fact that cattle theft is by far the most common form of crime in the district; it is also difficult to detect and more difficult to prove in the courts. Under the most efficient system of police working, a large number of cattle thefts will not be reported, since many victims prefer to submit to the local system of black-mail and recover their animals at a concession price: but an energetic Sub-Inspector will bring to record many cases which an easy going one will omit to mention, and, if the district happens to possess Sub-Inspectors of the former class, or if the authorities insist on the record of all cases that come to notice, the inevitable result will be an apparent increase in crime and an apparent drop in the proportion of convictions.

Punitive Police.

Multán differs from the districts of the Central Punjab in that there are few villages which are permanent centres of crime and it is therefore rarely necessary to post punitive

CHAPTER III, H.
Police and Jails.
Criminal tribes.

police on particular estates. At the time of writing there are no such posts.

The district is also fortunate in having few indigenous tribes addicted by habit and heredity to crime. At present the only natives of Multán which are gazetted as criminal tribes are—

11 Tháims of Salárwáhan, Police Station Alpa.
8 Hirájs of Alpa.
2 Hajáms of Alpa.
4 Wains of Jonk Wains, Police Station Alpa.
1 Sadana of Jonk Wains, Police Station Alpa.
2 Bauriás of Alpa.
2 Pakhiwárás of Jonk Uttera, Police Station Lodhran.
1 Daultána of Luddan, Police Station Luddan.
1 Khokhar of Luddan, Police Station Luddan.
2 Momkherás of Luddan, Police Station Luddan.
1 Chaddar of Police Station Luddan.

Wandering criminal tribes, *viz.*, Harni, Bhedkut, Gedri, Sánsi, etc., have been established at (1) Chak No. 91-10-R. and (2) Chak No. 6, Pírowál, of Police Station Khánewál, and (3) Chak No. 19-9-R., Police Station Tulamba.

JAILS.

The district jail at head-quarters contains accommodation for about 700 prisoners, but by the use of the workshops and tents considerably more than this number can be housed, and the average number of inmates during 1921 was 931. It receives both males and females and prisoners are sent there from the Muzaffargarh and Multán districts. It is under the charge of the Civil Surgeon who acts as Superintendent. The prisoners are employed partly on work connected with the jail itself and partly on manufactures, the average number employed on the latter being 400 in 1921. The earnings amounted to Rs. 47 per head for the year for those actually employed in manufacture and Rs. 25 per head of the average jail population. The chief industries are carpet and paper-making, and the manufacture of articles for use in the jail. The garden and land attached are maintained by jail labour. The health of the jail is generally good.

The Central Jail is situated some four miles south-east of the city and is in charge of a Superintendent, usually an officer of the Indian Medical Service, who lives on the premises. The jail is intended to accommodate 1,486 prisoners only, but during the past few years it has housed many more

CHAPTER III, I.

Education and Literacy.

and in 1921 the number was as high as 1,754. Temporary arrangements were then made inside and outside the jail walls.

Out of an average of 1,500 inmates during 1921, more than one-third were employed on the garden or as prison warders and servants, while 700 were engaged on the manufacture of articles required in this jail or other jails of the province. The rest were employed on other manufactures. Jail clothing is made in large quantities and the other industries include carpet-making, oil-pressing and the making of verandah chicks. The earnings during 1921 averaged Rs. 305 for those actually engaged in manufactures and Rs. 36 for the total jail population. The distant and isolated situation of the jail is favourable to health and affords some protection against prevailing epidemics. Admissions to hospital are usually few and the death-rate among prisoners is extremely small.

I.—EDUCATION AND LITERACY.

Literacy.

(a) Figures relating to the literacy of the people will be found in Table 50 of Volume B and are summarised below:—

Percentage of literate persons.

Census.	All religions.		
	Total.	Males.	Females.
1881	3·09	7	·1
1891	4·6	8·2	·2
1901	5·7	10·1	·4
1911 ...	4·09	8·6	·4
1921	3·8	6·3	·6

If the census figures are correct, the proportion of literate persons is less than it was thirty years ago; while the actual number of literates has apparently decreased since 1901. The figures of the Census of 1921, however, require correction, since, when the enumeration was made, a large number of urban residents had left the district on account of plague and among those were many educated persons. The figures, moreover, obviously exclude many then at school whose ability to pass the test of literacy was open to doubt. Among females the proportion of literacy is deplorably small, and less than 3,000 claimed this distinction at the Census of 1921. Among Hindus the standard is fairly high, but Muhammadans are very backward, and, although they are now waking to the

CHAPTER III. I.

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Literacy.

advantages of education, they have very great leeway to make up. In the villages literate Muhammadans are few and far between; many, however, are not entirely unread, as education of the old indigenous type is fairly widespread.

The ordinary Jat is content if he knows the 'Kalama', the 'Azán' and one or two of the ordinary prayers in the Arabic, and has a fair comprehension of their meaning; but it is not at all uncommon for the zamíndárs and others to proceed further in their studies. A boy or a girl, who is to undertake the pious duty of reading the 'Qurán', is first taught by the 'mulla' the elements of Arabic writing as entered in the 'Baghdádi Qaida', he or she then reads the first and the last 'sipárah' of the 'Qurán' with the 'mulla', who, as they go along, explains the general meaning of the sentences; and, unless anything urgent intervenes, they then proceed in the same way to read the rest of the sacred book. Some few go further and learn it by heart, and this knowledge by heart is not uncommon among blind men. Men who know the whole 'Qurán' by heart are known as 'Hafiz'. In reading the 'Qurán', and indeed in some of the other branches of learning, the women are as adept as, if not more proficient than, the men, and they are sometimes to be seen reading the book in the morning while the men are still fast asleep.

Of those who can read and write by far the greater number, whether Hindús or Muhammadans, write the Persian character. Hindús who know Sanskrit employ the Bhásha or Nágri; while money-lenders and shop-keepers use the 'Bhabri akhar' or the 'Multáni akhar', Takre or Lande, both of which are known as 'Hindi'. There are varieties of this character known as 'Siri', 'Sakri' and 'Siddha'. The 'Gurmukhi' character is understood by a few Sikhs, but by no one else.

Education: General facts.

(b) For educational purposes, the district is included in the Multán Division and is under the administrative control of the Divisional Inspector of Schools, whose head-quarters is at Multán.

In 1920 an Intermediate College was opened at Multán in pursuance of the general policy of relieving the congestion of students at Lahore and of developing higher education in the districts, and in the hope that more suitable teaching will be given in colleges of this kind to intermediate students by a combination of school and college methods. The college is housed in the fine buildings formerly occupied by the Church Missionary High School; an up-to-date laboratory has been added and spacious playing fields have been acquired. It has started well and promises to attract a number of youths from the Multán and adjacent districts, who otherwise would not pursue their education beyond the High

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Education and Literacy.

School. A training course for junior anglo-vernacular teachers has been amalgamated with it, and this too promises to give very good results.

Education: General facts.

There are 5 High Schools in the district, of which 4 are at Multán and the 5th at Kahror in the Lodhrán tahsíl. The last named is maintained by the Small Towns Committee with aid from Government, while, of the Multán schools, one is financed entirely by Government and the others are aided schools, maintained by the Arya Samáj, Anjuman Islámia and Sanátan Dharam Sabha, respectively. The figures given in Table 51 of Volume B show that, so far as the number of scholars is concerned, the cause of secondary English education is not making any rapid advance. Normal schools for the training of teachers and school-mistresses respectively are located at Multán and a model school is attached to each.

The only two Anglo-Vernacular Middle Schools are situated at Multán Cantonment and at Shujábád in each of which places there is a local demand for English instruction. The progress in Vernacular education as evidenced by statistics has been remarkable during recent years, and even if it be true that the actual advance has not been so great as that shown by the figures and that the multiplication of schools has outstripped the desire to use them, it is undoubtedly the case that the appreciation of education has grown much of late years and that even among the most conservative villagers, the prejudice against it is far less strong. The increase from 4 to 21 Middle Schools in 5 years marks a new inclination on the part of parents to keep their sons later at school, while the large rise in the number of primary schools and scholars is proof of the growing interest taken by Muhammadans in Education.

In Multán city, primary education is compulsory and the Municipal Committee was the first public body in the province to put into operation the Act of 1919. The Act has so far been leniently worked, but the immediate result has been to double the attendance of boys concerned.

Special schools and female education.

(c) Little provision has so far been made for vocational instruction and the education of particular classes. There is an industrial middle school under the control of the Municipal Committee, Multán, where weaving, carpentry and smithy work have been introduced with considerable success, and there is also a weaving school supported by Government where the use of improved looms is taught. At Qádirpur Ran, the District Board has a small agricultural farm where the boys of the local middle school learn the rudiments of agriculture, but the experiment has still to justify itself.

Medical.

Female education has made some advance during the past ten years, but progress is slow. The District Board has 14 primary schools and there are 16 Municipal schools of which 13 are at Multán itself, 2 at Kahror and 1 at Shujábád. There is a middle school at Multán. The prejudice against the education of girls is, however, still strong and in 1921-22 the total number on the rolls was only 2,400.

Expenditure on education.

(*d*) The expenditure on education increased during the ten years ending 1921-22 from Rs. 1,41,000 to Rs. 4,22,000 and the problem of finance, especially from the point of view of local bodies, is a serious one. Of the total expenditure, Government provides rather less than one-half, the District Board gives about 20 per cent., municipal funds about 15 per cent. while the balance is obtained from fees and donations. The income from fees shows a tendency to decline and the introduction of free compulsory education in the Multán Municipality has involved an additional burden on the taxpayer. The amount paid in fees is about Rs. 50,000 only, or, having regard to the total number of scholars, little more than Rs. 2 per head per annum. Subscriptions vary from year to year, but the figures given in Table 52 underestimate the amount of private support, since they do not take full account of the expenditure on private and aided schools.

J.—MEDICAL.

Hospitals and Dispensaries.

(*a*) At Multán, the two main hospitals are the Civil Hospital and the Victoria Jublice Hospital. The first is for males and the second for females and both are situated together outside the city wall at no great distance from the Lohar Gate. The Civil Hospital is neither spacious enough nor adequately equipped for the needs of a large town. The site is cramped and shut in by surrounding dwellings of an insanitary type; the buildings are old and in bad repair, while the operation room is badly constructed and lighted. A scheme has been pending for some years to sell the existing site which is of great value, and to build elsewhere a hospital equipped on thoroughly modern lines; but considerable delay in carrying out the scheme has been occasioned by the difficulty of finding a site sufficiently near to the city. The hospital is in administrative charge of the Civil Surgeon and in executive charge of an Assistant Surgeon.

The Victoria Jubilee Hospital was built in 1887 and has been improved from time to time. It is being used to an increasing extent both by in-door and out-door patients, as is also the branch hospital inside the city. Male out-door patients from the city are mainly treated at the Branch hospital near the Kup where for the last few years the average daily attendance has been between 200 and 300 patients. The building is a poor one and does not include quarters for the

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Medical.

Hospitals and dispensaries.

Sub-Assistant Surgeon-in-charge. There is a general hospital in cantonments maintained out of the funds of Cantonment Board, and the Zenana Hospital attached to the Church Missionary Society has, for years, been doing most valuable work. Outside Multán there are hospitals or dispensaries maintained either by the District Board or the local body at each of the tahsil head-quarters with limited accommodation for in-door patients, and there are also dispensaries at Jalálpur-Pírwála, Kahror, Tulamba, Serái Sidhu, Luddan and Mián Channun. The popularity of these varies considerably according to the skill and reputation of the Officers-in-charge, but the figures given in Table 53 of Part B examined over a period of years show that there is a distinct tendency to take more advantage of the opportunities for medical relief. The institutions at Kahror, Mailsi and Shujábád, in particular, are doing very good work. There are also three canal dispensaries at Rashida, Mián Channun and Jehánian open to the public and a departmental dispensary at Kahror. At Pírwála, a dispensary was opened in 1921 to serve the criminal tribes settlement.

Vaccination.

(b) The statistics relating to vaccination will be found in Table 54, part B. The average number of persons vaccinated each year is about 50,000 and about 55 per cent. of the vaccinations are primary. The staff consists of one Divisional Inspector, one Superintendent and twelve vaccinators: the Inspector is paid from Provincial Funds while the rest of the establishment is paid almost entirely from local funds, the greater part of the cost falling on the District Board. The total expenditure each year is Rs. 8,000 approximately. Vaccination is compulsory within the municipal boundaries of Multán city, and in Shujábád town.

Village sanitation.

(c) Village sanitation is practically non-existent, nor is it necessary to the same extent as in the Central Punjab, where the rural population is congregated in village sites. There is no regular distribution of quinine in rural areas, but in bad malarial years the District Board arranges for free distribution in the worst affected tracts using the Salvation Army, the Sub-Assistant Surgeons and the Vaccination staff as its agents. The prejudice against the use of quinine is fast disappearing.

CHAPTER IV. — Places of interest.

CHAPTER IV.

PLACES OF INTEREST.

The following account of various places of interest in the district is reproduced from the last edition of the gazetteer:—

MULTAN CITY.

History: foundation.

The date of the founding of the city of Multán is unknown. It is only probable, but not historically established, that Multán was the city of the Malli which Alexander stormed, and where Alexander was wounded; and the first real appearance of the town in history is in the middle of the 7th century A. D., when it was seized by the Chach Dynasty of Sindh.

Visits of European travellers.

The general history of Multán city is much the same as that of the district at large. The city was from time to time visited by European travellers, and it is of some interest to read their various descriptions:—

Still and Crowther, who were here on 22nd May, 1614, say that Multán 'is a great and ancient citie within three course (kos) of Indus, but poore; for which cause they detain the caravans there divers dayes, eight, ten or twelve to benefit the citie'.

De Laet's description in his compilation is as follows:—'Multán provincia amplissima est et imprimis fertilis et mercimoniis valde opportuna, ob tria flumina quae illam rigant, et haud longe a metropoli confluunt. Metropolis illius est Multhan, sive Moltan, quae distat a regia urbe Lahore centum et viginti cosas, per illam iter est mercatoribus, qui e Persia per Kandahár in provincias Indiae descendunt. Iria ista flumina sunt Ravee, Bahat sive Behat, et denique Sind sive Indus, quae rapido cursu hanc provinciam secant. Precipuae hujus provinciae merces sunt saccharum, quod magna copia secundo flumine Indo versus Tattam navibus deportatur; atque adeo adversus Lahorem. Item gallae et opium, sulfur quoque et magna copia pannorum lineorum et gossypinorum; plurimi denique hic aluntur cameli, et industria incolarum in arcubus conficiendis imprimis celebratur*—(India Vera., p. 96.)

Tavernier in his Travels (Vol. ii, p. 57, ed. 1676) gives the following description of the place.—'Multán est une ville on il se fait quantité de toiles et on les transportoit toutes à Tata avant que les sables eussent gaté l'embouchure de la riviere: mais depuis que la passage a esté fermé pour les grands vaisseaux on les poste à Agra, et d'Agra à Surate, de même qu'une partie des marchandises qui se font à Lahor. Comme cette voiture est fort chère il va maintenant peu de marchands faire des empletes tant à Multán qu'à Lahor, et même plusieurs ouvriers ont deserté ce qui fait que les revenus du Roy sont aussi beaucoup diminuez en ces Provinces. Multán est le lieu où sortent tous les Banianes qui viennent negocier dans la Perse, ou ils font le même métier des Juifs comme j'ay dit aillieurs, et l'encherissent sur eux par leurs usures. Ils ont une loy particulière qui leur permet en certains jours de l'année de manger des poules, et de ne prendre qu'une femme entre deux ou trois frères dont l'aîné est censé

* There is a quarter of the city still well known as the Mohalla Kamángran.

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Places of interest.

Visits of European travellers.

le pére des enfanse. Il sort encore de cette ville—là quantitè de baladins et de baladines qui s'epandent en divers lieux de la Perse.'

Thevenot in his Travels (Part iii, 1687, p. 55) describes Multán as follows:—'Multán is watered with many rivers that make it fertile. The capital town, which is also called Multán, was heretofore a place of very great Trade because it is not far from the river Indus; but seeing at present Vessels cannot go up so far, because the channel of that river is spoilt in some places, and the mouth of it full of shelves, the Traffick is much lessened, by reason that the charge of Land carriage is too great: However the Province yields plenty of Cotton, of which vast numbers of Cloaths are made. It also yields Sugar, Opium, Brimstone Galls and store of Camels, which are transported into Persia by Ghazna or Candahár or into the Indies themselves by Lahore; but whereas the commodities went heretofore down the Indus at small charges, to Tatta, where the merchants of several Countries came and bought them up, they must now be carried by land as far as Surrat, if they expect a considerable price for them.

'The town of Multán is by some Geographers attributed to Sinde, though it makes a Province by itself. It lies in twenty-nine degrees forty minutes North Latitude, and hath many good towns in its dependence, as Cozdar or Cordar Candavil, Sandur and others. It furnishes Hindustán with the finest Bows that are to be seen in it, and the nimblest Dancers. The Commanders and Officers of these Towns are Mussulmáns; and by consequence, it may be said that most of the inhabitants are of the same Religion: But it contains a great many Banians also, for Multán is their chief rendezvous for trading into Persia, where they do what the Jews do in other places; but they are far more cunning, for nothing escapes them and they let slip no occasion of getting the penny, however small it be. . . . . . The richest merchants of the Indies are of them and such I have met in all places where I have been in that country. They are commonly very jealous of their wives, who at Multán are fairer than the men, but still of a very brown complexion and love to pain.

'At Multán there is another sort of gentiles whom they call Catry. That town is properly their country and from thence they spread all over the Indies; but we shall treat of them when we come to speak of the other sects; both the two have in Multán a Pagod of great consideration because of the affluence of people that come there to perform their devotion after their way; and from all places of Multán, Lahore and other countries they come thither in pilgrimage. I know not the name of the idol that is worshipped there : the face is black, and it is cloathed in red leather; it hath two pearls in place of eyes; and the Emir or Governor of the country takes the offerings that are presented to it. To conclude, the town of Multán is but of small extent for a Capital, but it is pretty well fortified; and is very considerable to the Mogul, when the Persians are masters of Candahár as they are at present.

'What the Great Mogul receives yearly from this Province amounts to seventeen millions five hundred thousand livres.'

Elphinstone, who arrived here with his Kábul Mission on the 11th December 1808, writes:—The city of Multán stands about four miles from the left bank of the Chenáb or Acesines. It is above four miles and a half in circumference. It is surrounded with a high wall, between forty and fifty feet high with towers at regular distances. It has also a citadel on a rising ground and several fine tombs, especially two with very high cupolas, ornamented with the painted and glazed tiles already noticed. The tombs are seen from a great distance all round the town. Multán is famous for its silks, and for a sort of carpet, much inferior to those of Persia. The country immediately round the city was very pleasing, fertile, well cultivated, and well watered from wells. The people were like those at Baháwalpur, except that

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there were more men, who looked like Persians, mixed with them; these, however, were individuals and chiefly horsemen.

The mission remained for nineteen days in the neighbourhood of Multán, and as most of the party were out almost every day from seven or eight to three or four, shooting, hunting or hawking, we had good opportunities of observing the country. The land was flat and the soil excellent, but a large proportion of the villages were in ruins, and there were other signs of a well cultivated country going to decay; about a half was still cultivated and most abundantly watered by Persian wheels; the produce was wheat, millet, cotton, turnips, carrots and indigo. The trees were chiefly neem and date, with here and there a peepul tree. The uncultivated country near the river was covered with a thick copse wood of tamarisk, mixed with a tree like a willow, about 20 feet high: at a distance from the river it was bare, except for scattered tufts of long grass, and here and there a date tree. The country abounded in game of all kinds. The weather was delightful during our stay: the thermometer, when at the lowest was at 28° at sunrise: there were slight frosts in the night, but the days were rather warm.'—(Caubul i, 27-8).

Elphinstone's description of his meeting with the Nawáb has been already quoted.

Masson, who was here twice in about 1827 A.D., writes (Travels, i, 394):—'It cannot be less than three miles in circumference and is walled in. Its bazars are large, but inconveniently narrow, and I thought did not exhibit that bustle or activity which might be expected in a place of much reputed commerce. The citadel, if not a place of extreme strength, is one on which more attention seems to have been bestowed than is usual, and is more regular than any fortress I have seen, not constructed by European Engineers. It is well secured by a deep trench, neatly faced with masonry; and the defences of the gateway, which is approached by a drawbridge, are rather elaborate. The casualties of the siege it endured have not been made good by the Sikhs, consequently it has become much dilapidated since that period. It can scarcely be said to have a garrison, a weak party of soldiers being merely stationed as guards at the entrance. Within the citadel are the only buildings of the city worth seeing—the battered palace of the late Khan and the Mahomedan shrine of Baháwal Haqq. The latter,* with its lofty gumat or cupola, is the principal ornament of the place.

'Multán is said to have decreased in trade since it fell into the hands of the Sikhs, yet its bazars continued well and reasonably supplied with all articles of traffic and consumption. There are still numerous bankers, and manufacturers of silk and cotton goods. Its fabrics of shawls and lungis are deservedly esteemed, and its brocades and tissues compete with those of Baháwalpur. It still supplies a portion of its fabrics to the Loháni merchants of Afghánistán, and has an extensive foreign trade with the regions west of the Indus.

'The ruins around the city spread over a large space: and there is an amazing number of old Mussalmán graves, tombs, masjids and shrines; and, as all of them are held sacred, they would seem to justify the popular belief that one lakh or one hundred thousand saints lie interred within the hallowed vicinity. Many of these are substantial edifices, and, if not held to establish the saintly pretensions of the city, may be accepted as testimonies of its prosperity under the sway of the Mahomedan dynasties of India. North of the city is the magnificent and well preserved shrine of Shams Tabrezi. . . . The gardens of Multán are abundant and well stocked with fruit trees, as mangos, oranges, citrons, limes, &c. Its date groves also yield much fruit, and vegetables are grown in great plenty. The inundations of

* This refers evidently to the shrine of Rukn-i-Alam.

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the Rávi extend to the city, but it* is three miles distant, and has what is called a bounder, or port, in this instance expressive of a boat station, whence there is communication with the Indus, and, consequently, with the sea.

'The area enclosed within the walls being compactly built over, the city may be supposed to contain not less than eight or nine thousand houses, or from forty to forty-five thousand souls. At present a Brahman, Soband Mal,† resides at Multán as governor for Ranjit Singh, with the title of Subahdar; and his jurisdiction is extensive, comprising the southern parts of the Sikh kingdom from the Sutlej to the Indus. He has at his command a force of eight hundred Sikhs, under Gandar Singh, besides the governors sprinkled over the country. He is a popular ruler; and many anecdotes are related of his liberality and indulgence, even on matters connected with religion. The Sikh authority over the conquered provinces held by the Subahdar being firmly established, the administration is mild owing partly, perhaps, to his personal character: and two Sikhs are located at every village and hamlet on the part of the Government. The peasantry make over a third of the produce of their lands; neither do they complain.'

Masson again halted at Multan on his way back from Lahore to Sindh: halting 'near the 'ziárat' of Shams Tabrezi.'

Multán was visited on the 15th June 1831, by Lieutenant Alexander Burnes, who gives the following account of his visit (Travels in Bokhára, etc., i, 94-8):—'On the 15th we came in sight of the domes of Multán which look well at a distance; and alighted in the evening at the Hoozooree Bagh, a spacious garden enclosed by a thin wall of mud, a mile distant from the city. The ground is laid out in the usual native style: two spacious walks cross each other at right angles, and are shaded by large fruit trees of the richest foliage. In a bungalow at the end of one of these walks, we took up our quarters, and were received by the authorities of the city in the same hospitable manner as at Shoojuábád. They brought a purse of 2,500 rupees, with 100 vessels of sweetmeats, and an abundant supply of fruit: we felt happy and gratified at the change of scene and civilities of the people.

'The city of Multán is described in Mr. Elphinstone's work on Cabool, and it may appear foreign to my purpose to mention it; but his mission was received here with great jealousy, and not permitted to view the interior of the town, or the fort. I do not hesitate, therefore, to add the following particulars drawn up after a week's residence. The city of Multán is upwards of three miles in circumference, surrounded by a dilapidated wall, and overlooked on the north by a fortress of strength. It contains a population of about 60,000 souls, one-third of whom may be Hindus: the rest of the population is Mahomedan, for though it is subject to the Seiks, their number is confined to the garrison, which does not exceed 500 men. The Afghâns have left the country since they ceased to govern. Many of the houses evidently stand on the ruins of others: they are built of burnt brick and have flat roofs: they sometimes rise to the height of six stories, and their loftiness gives a gloomy appearance to the narrow streets. The inhabitants are chiefly weavers and dyers of cloth. The silk manufacture of Multán is 'kais,' and may be had of all colours, and from the value of 20 to 120 rupees per piece; it is less delicate in texture than the 'loongees' of Bhawulpoor. Ranjit Singh has with much propriety encouraged this manufacture since he captured the city; and by giving no other cloths at his court, has greatly increased their consumption: they are worn as sashes and scarfs by all the Seik Sardárs. They are also exported to Khorásán and India, and the

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* This refers doubtless to the Chenáb.

† The Khatri Sáwan Mal is evidently intended.

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duties levied are moderate. To the latter country, the route by Jaysulmeer and Beecaneer is chosen in preference to that by Sinde, from the trade being on a more equitable footing. The trade of Multán is much the same as at Bhawulpoor, but is on a larger scale, for it has forty shroffs (money-changers) chiefly natives of Shikarpoor. The tombs of Multán are celebrated: one of them that of Bawulhuq, who flourished upwards of 500 years ago, and was a contemporary of Sadee, the Persian poet, and is considered very holy: but its architecture is surpassed by that of his grandson, Rookn-i-Allum, who reposes under a massy dome sixty feet in height, which was erected in the year 1323 by the Emperor Tooghluck as his own tomb. Its foundation stands on higher ground than the summit of the fort wall; there is also a Hindoo temple of high antiquity, called Pyladpooree mentioned by Thevenot in 1665.

'The fortress of Multán merits a more particular description; it stands on a mound of earth, and is an irregular figure of six sides, the longest of which, towards the north-west, extends for about 400 yards. The wall has upwards of thirty towers, and is substantially built of burnt brick, to the height of forty feet outside; but in the interior the space between the ground and its summit does not exceed four or five feet, and the foundations of some of the buildings overtop the wall, and are to be seen from the plain below. The interior is filled with houses and till its capture by the Seiks in 1818 was peopled; but the inhabitants are not now permitted to enter, and a few mosques and cupolas, more substantially built than the other houses, alone remain among the ruins. The fortress of Multán has no ditch; the nature of the country will not admit of one being constructed; and Ranjit Singh has hitherto expended great sums without effect. The inundation of the Chenáb, and its canals together with rain render the vicinity of Multán a marsh, even in the hot weather, and before the swell of the river has properly set in the waters of last year remain. The walls of the fortress are protected in two places by dams of earth. The modern fort of Multán was built on the site of the old city by Moorad Bukhsh, the son of Shah Jehan, about the year 1640 and it subsequently formed the jagheer of that prince's brothers, the unfortunate Dara Shikoh and the renowned Aurungzebe. The Afgháns seized it in the time of Ahmad Shah, and the Seiks wrested it from the Afgháns, after many struggles, in 1818. The conduct of its governor during the siege deserves mention. When called on to surrender the keys and offered considerate treatment, he sent for reply that they would be found in his heart, but he would never yield to an infidel; he perished bravely in the breach. His name, Moozuffur Khan, is now revered as a saint and his tomb is placed in one of the holiest sanctuaries of Multán. The Seiks threw down the walls of the fort in many places, but they have since been thoroughly renewed or repaired; they are about six feet thick, and could be easily breached from the mounds that have been left in baking the bricks, which are within cannon range of the walls.

'The climate of Multán differs from that of the countries lower down the Indus; showers of rain are common at all seasons, and yet the dust is intolerable. For nine successive evenings we had a tornado of it from the westward, with lightning and distant thunder. Such storms are said to be frequent: they appear to set in from the Sooliman mountain, between which and the Indus the sand or dust is raised. The heat and dust of Multán have grown into a proverb, to which have been added, not unmeritedly the prevalence of beggars, and the number of the tombs, in the following Persian couplet—

'Chuhar cheez hust, toohfujat-i-Multán,
Gird, gada, gurma wa goristan.'

As far as I could judge, the satire is just: the dust darkened the sun; the thermometer rose in June to 100 of Fahrenheit in a bungalow

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artificially cooled, the beggars hunted us everywhere, and we trod on the cemeteries of the dead in whatever direction we rode.'

From the 6th to the 16th April 1836 the traveller Vigne visited Multán, being entertained in the Bagh Begi, near the present city railway station. 'Upon my arrival in Multán,' he writes, 'I was domiciled in a Baraderi (twelve doors), or summer house, in the Bhagh-i-Begi, made by the Nawáb Surfuras Khan, about thirty years ago; it was cool, well-shaded with orange trees and laid out in the usual manner with reservoirs and fountains. The walks, intersecting each other at right angles, were raised above the parterres and flower-beds, that they might be dry when the latter are covered with water. There are numerous gardens in the environs of Multán, often formed around the shrine of some Mussulman faqir; and no man will quarrel with the fanaticism which has procured him shade and shelter in the climate of India. In the Hazuri Bagh or the garden of the Presence, on the north side of the fort, I saw a large tree, the Mowul-Siri, grown, as they told me, from a cutting, which was originally brought from Mecca; but I do not vouch for the truth of the story. The principal shrine is that of the Faquir Shums-i-Tabriz.

'Multán supposed to be the capital of the Malli, of Alexander's historians, is a dusty and slovenly-looking city, containing about forty-five thousand inhabitants. The streets are narrow and the houses are two, three and four stories high; flat-roofed of course, and built of sun-burnt brick, with a washing of mud over them. The city wall, about five and thirty feet high, is of the same material, but in a decayed state. Around Multán, in various directions, are numerous hollow ways of no depth, connected by a short cut or hole through the bank when necessary. In the hot weather these are filled by means of a deep canal which communicates with the river Chenáb. The fort was built by Buran Bey, the son of the Emperor Jehan Guire upon a mound that rises in the north part of the city, of which it occupies a considerable portion: the city is about three miles in circumference.

'There are four gates one of which is closed up by the order of the Maháràjah Ranjit Singh. The walls of the fort, which in some places are sixty feet in height, with bastions at intervals of about seventy yards, are in good repair, but mounted with a total of only six or seven ill-cast native guns. They have been surrounded by a ditch, in many places entirely destroyed. In the interior of the fort is the shrine of Nar Singhpuree, a Hindoo saint, and two lofty and spacious buildings erected over the tombs of two Mussulman saints of great celebrity—Bahawul-Huk and Shah Allum. The ground plan of one is an octagon with a diagonal of about eighteen yards, and buttresses at the angles. The lower part of the building is surmounted with another octagon and a dome rising to the height of a hundred feet. The whole of the outside is tastefully ornamented with coloured tiles, chiefly blue in imitation of those of China. They were originally used in ornamenting the public buildings of Multán, and were made there; but there is now no other manufactory of them nearer than Delhi. Ranjit Singh's cannon appear to have told with great effect upon the roofs of the principal mosques. Most of the buildings of the fort were destroyed after the capture of the city, with the exception of these shrines and the house of Mozuffar Khan, which stands on the most elevated part of it and commands an extensive view. This brave man, the last independent Nawáb of Multán, lies buried in the vestibule of Bahawul-Huk. For twelve years he resolutely opposed the inroads of the Sikhs; but the fort was at last taken in the year one thousand eight hundred and eighteen by Kurruk Singh, the only son of Ranjit, and present ruler of the Punjab. Mozuffar Khan fought in person at the Kederi gate of the fort and at last fell mortally wounded, after a desperate resistance. When Ranjit Singh visited his tomb afterwards, he is reported to have made a speech somewhat of the same nature with that uttered by Napoleon at the tomb of Frederick of Prussia.

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'Multán is famous for its silk manufactures. I visited the house of a weaver; it presented a very different appearance from the atelier of a shawl-maker in Káshmir. There I have seen twenty men at work in one room; here there are seldom more than three, who sit in a hollow in the ground, by which means their hands are brought down even with the tanee or woof, which is extended near the floor and fastened to a post not more than a foot in height. This apparatus takes up a great deal of room whereas the frame of the shawl-worker, which is perpendicular, does not occupy a space of more than six square yards. Seven hundred maunds of raw silk are brought to Multán every year by the Lohanis chiefly from Bokhára and Turkistán: these are manufactured in one hundred and fifty workshops. One man will finish an ordinary kaish or piece of silk in six days, perhaps three yards long and a foot and a half wide, taking eight days previously for the arrangement of the weaving apparatus. A very handsome kaish is finished in sixteen days. That of the red colour is most valuable: it is dyed with cochineal, which is brought from either Bombay or Bokhára; that from Bombay is one rupee a seer, about a shilling a pound. Multán is also famous for its carpets and embroidery.

'There are from a thousand to fifteen hundred maunds of tobacco produced around Multán annually. The best, which is called suruk, or the red, is sold for six annas, equal to about nine pence a seer. Inferior kinds are sold from four to two annas a seer.

'I exchanged visits with Sáwan Mal, the Governor of Multán. Ranjit Singh has been heard to say that he was one of the best officers in his service. Whilst I was at Multán, he sent me a kilaat or dress of honour, together with an elephant and a couple of horses for my use, as an especial mark of his favour. He is a thin man, with a good tempered and, for a native, a superior expression of countenance, and is said to have distinguished himself at the taking of the city. His government was well spoken of by the Lohani merchants who gave him an excellent character for justice in his dealings with them. He is the arch opponent of the minister, Rajah Dhihan Singh, and his brothers Gulab and Sucheyt Sing, whose influence at the court of Ranjit is usually all powerful.

'On the eleventh of April, the Besak, a Hindoo festival, took place in the morning. I rode to the river, about three miles distant. The country which intervenes between the city and its banks was looking very green and picturesque, considering it is entirely flat: a great deal of land was under cultivation and bearing very fine crops of wheat. Well-planted gardens were always in sight; and date and palm trees standing singly or in groups were frequently seen amongst the numerous topes or clumps of mulberry, mango, banian, peepul and acacia trees. By the roadside were the vendors of wreaths and fans made from the flags that grew on the water's edge. In the afternoon there was a fair in the Bagh Ali Akber, a garden with a shrine of a fakir of that name. I saw the Multánis returning, every species of conveyance had, of course, been put in requisition: horses, mules, donkeys carrying one or two persons; camels, each bearing seven or eight women and children, disposed on either side in trucks; and unlicensed bullock carts, with cargoes of giggling dancing girls. The number of persons who will stow themselves in these vehicles is quite astounding: all were in their holiday dresses. The Hindoo was to be distinguished by his castemark on his forehead, his rose-coloured turban, and red flowing trousers. The Multán Mussulman usually wore a white dress of the same kind of pattern. The Sikh, generally a Sepahi, was recognised by his sword, matchlock and accoutrements, his scanty turban, his earrings, his would-be knee-breeches, or his close-fitting ill-made trousers.' (Ghazni, p. 14).

In June 1837, Lieutenant Robert Leech, of the Bombay Engineers, and Dr. Parcival Lord who were attached to Burnes' Kabul Mission,

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came over to Multán on their way from Dera Gházi Khan to Dera Ismail Khan. At Multán they gathered much important information; and although 'they experienced some difficulties, their stay there was by no means disagreeable.'—(Burnes' Cabool, 1842, p. 88; Wood's Oxus, 2nd edition, p. 51.)

After this Multán seems to have been somewhat sparingly visited by Europeans until the siege of 1848-49, which has been already described.

Multán, it may here be mentioned, has the honor of being the birth-place of three distinguished men in history. The Delhi Emperor Muhammad Tughlak Sháh is said to have been born about the end of the thirteenth century in a hamlet now lying between the Lohari gate and the civil lines church, which is still known by the name of 'Toleh Khan'—a corruption, it is said, of 'Tughlak Khan'. Early in the fifteenth century, too, was born, at a house known as the 'Khizánáwála Makán', near the Hussain Gáhí, the Emperor Bahlol Lodi, and his birth, it is said, was prematurely occasioned by a house falling upon, and, at the same time, killing his mother. Lastly, it was in the Saddozái Kirri, in the suburbs of Multán, as nearly as may be in the spot now occupied by the house facing the residence of the Commissioner, that Ahmad Sháh Abdáli, the first of the Durráni sovereigns of Afghánistán, is said to have been born somewhere towards the end of the 17th beginning of the 18th century.

The chief features of the town will now be noticed under three heads, according as they lie (*i*) in the fort, (*ii*) in the city, and (*iii*) outside the city.

(1)—THE FORT.

The fort.

The fort is built on a detached mound of earth separated from the city by the bed of an old branch of the Rávi river. As regards the date of the foundation of the fort, we have no historical evidence, and our conclusions can be based only on the results of a well sunk by Sir Alexander Cunningham when he was here in 1853. The well was just outside the walls of the temple of Prahládpuri, and the results are thus given in a tabular form:—

Depth, feet.	*Probable date.*	*Discoveries.*
1, 2 ...	... 1700	Upper stratum; English broken bottle; pieces of iron shells; leaden bullets.
3 ...	... 1600	... ...
4, 5 ...	... 1500	... Glazed pottery and glazed tiles.
6 ...	... 1400	... Small bricks, 6″ × 4″ × 1″.
7, 8 ...	... 1300	... ...
9 ...	... 1206	... ...
10, 11 ...	... 1100	*Coin of Muiz-ud-din Kaikebad, A. D. 1286-87. Glazed blue chiragh or oil lamp.

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Depth, feet.	*Probable date.*	*Discoveries.*	
12 ...	... 1000	... Coin of Sri Samanta Deva, Circa A.D. 900.	
13 ...	... 950	Bricks 11" × 6½" × 2". Glazed tiles and pottery ceased.	
14 ...	... 900		
15 ..	... 800	Red ashes 2 feet deep.	Bricks 11" × 6½" × 2".
16, 17 ...	... 700		
18 ...	... 600	... Block ashes 6 to 9 inches.	
19, 20 ...	... 500	... ...	
21 ...	... 400	... Fragments of large bricks 14" × 11" × 2½".	
22, 23 ...	... 300	... ...	
24 ...	... 200	... ...	
25, 26 ...	... 100	... ...	
27 ...	... B.C.	... ...	
28, 29 ...	... 100	... ...	
30 ...	... 200	2 feet of ashes and burnt earth.	Silk-spinner's ball. Shoe-maker's sharpening stone. Copper vessel with some 200 coins.
31, 32 ...	... 300		
33 ...	... 400	... ...	
34, 35 ...	... 500	... ...	
36 ...	... 600	Natural soil unmixed.	
37, 38 ...	... 700		
39 ...	... 800		
40 ...	... ...	...	

—(See *Arch. Sur. Reps.*, v, 127.)

The ashes in the 8th century A. D. may, according to Cunningham, represent the capture of Multán by Muhammad Kasim in A. D. 702, and those in the 4th century B. C. the supposed capture by Alexander in B. C. 326.

While it was intact the circuit of the fort was 6,600 feet, or 1¼ miles, and it had 46 bastions, including two flanking towers at each of the four gates. The four gates were (*i*) the De or Deh gate on the west, which is the one usually entered by visitors. The name is said by Cunningham to represent 'Dewal', the gate having in former times led straight to the Dewal or temple inside the fort, which will be described below.* (*ii*) The Khizri gate, on the north-east, so called because it led most directly on to the river, which,

* It should, at the same time, be observed that none of the gates is so far from the site of the old temple as this one. One of the drains in the centre of the fort is still known as Mámú De's drain.

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like other water, is under the protection of the saint Khwája Khizr.* (*iii*) The Sikhi gate on the south-east. The name of the gate may or may not be connected, as has been suggested, with the neighbouring town of Sikha, so often mentioned by the early Arab Historians; but it is as likely to mean merely the 'Spiked gate'. It is said that the doors of the gate were armed with projecting spikes to prevent their being battered by elephants. It was at this gate that the murderous attack was made on Mr. Agnew in 1848. The gate has now disappeared, but a road leads past it to the shrines of Prahládpuri and Baháwal Haqq. (*iv*) The Rehri gate opposite the Hussain Gáhi, so called because of the deep depression below it; this has now practically disappeared.

For a year or two after annexation, and until the present cantonment was laid out, the greater part of the garrison was stationed in the fort; but the fort has now lost its military importance.

The sun temple.

The earliest and most celebrated of the buildings in the fort is one of which there is now not a trace remaining, *viz.*, the temple known to the early Muhammadans as the Temple of the Sun. This temple is mentioned by Hiuen Tsang in 641 A. D. It was apparently destroyed in the 11th century, but it was again restored, and it seems to have been still standing in Thevenot's time (after 1666 A.D.). It appears to have been shortly afterwards destroyed by Aurangzeb, and its place seems to have been taken by a Jama Masjid. This in its turn was made by the Sikhs into a powder magazine, and this magazine was blown up by a shell from the British batteries in the siege of 1848. Its ruins were seen by Cunningham in 1853 'in the very middle of the fort'. According to the map attached to the Archæological Survey Report of 1872-73, the building must have been just to the west of the place where the obelisk in mem[ory] of Agnew and Anderson now stands. The following [are] the accounts given of the temple by the several writers who mention it:—

Hiuen Tsang, who was in Multán in 641 A. D., writes:—

'The country is about 4,000 li in circuit; the capital town is some 30 li round. It is thickly populated. The establishments are wealthy. This country is in dependence on the Kingdom of the Cheka (Tso-Kiá). The soil is rich and fertile. The climate is soft and agreeable. The manners of the people are simple and honest: they love learning, and honour the virtuous. The greater part sacrifice to the spirits: few believe in the law of Buddha. There are about ten sangharamas mostly in ruins: there are a few priests who study indeed, but without any wish to excel. There are eight Deva temples, in which sectaries of various classes dwell. There is a temple dedicated to the sun, very magnificent and profusely decorated. The

* *Cf.* the Khizri gate of Lahore City. Cunningham suggests that the gates was named after Khizr Khan, a governor of the 14th Century mentioned in Chapter II above.

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image of the Sun-deva is cast in yellow gold and ornamented with rare gems. Its divine insight is mysteriously manifested, and its spiritual powers made plain to all. Women play their music, light their torches, offer their flowers and perfumes to honour it. This custom has been continued from the very first. The kings and high families of the five Indies never fail to make their offerings of gems and precious stones (to the Deva). They have founded a home of mercy (happiness), in which they provide food and drink, and medicines for the poor and sick, affording succour and substenance. Men from all countries come here to offer up their prayers; there are always some thousands doing so. On the four sides of the temple are tanks with flowering groves where one can wander about without restraint.'—(BEAL: *Records of Western Countries*, HIUEN TSANG, ii. 274).

Wilford in As. Res., xi, 70, quotes a story from the Bhavishya Purána to the effect that Samba, son of Krishna, crossed to the north of the Chenáb, and soon after erected a golden statue to the sun.

Abu Zaid (about 916 A. D.) mentions 'the idol called Multán' which, he says, is situated 'in the envirous of Massura'; and says that aloes from Kamrun (Assam) are used by the ministers of the temple as incense.—(ELL. i, 11.)

According to the Chach-náma (written originally before 750 A.D.) Muhammad Kasim, when he took Multán in 712 A. D., was told of a hoard buried in old times by Jibawín (v.l Jaswin, Jasúr), a chief of the city and a descendant of the Rai of Káshmir, who 'made a reservoir, on the eastern side of Multán, which was 100 yards square. In the middle of it he built a temple 50 yards square and under it a chamber in which he concealed 50 copper jars, each of which was filled with a fine gold dust. Over it there is a temple in which there is an idol made of red gold, and trees are planted round the reservior.' Kasim went there and found 'an idol made of gold, and its two eyes were bright red rubies. He had it taken up and obtained 13,200 mans of gold.—(ELL. i. 203.)

Al Biladuri (883-4), in speaking of Muhammad Kasim's expedition, says he captured the temple ministers. 'The Mussulmans found there much gold in a chamber 10 cubits long by 8 broad, and there was an aperture above through which the gold was poured into the chamber.... The temple (budd) of Multán received rich presents and offerings, and to it the people of Sind resorted as to a place of pilgrimage. They circumambulated it and shaved their heads and beards. They conceived that the image was that of the prophet Job — God's peace be on him!'—(ELL. i. 122.)

Istakhri (about 951 A. D.) mentions the idol and the number of pilgrims who went to worship it:—'The temple of the idol is a strong edifice situated in the most populous part of the city in the market of Multán below the bazar of the ivory dealers and the shops of the copper-smiths. The idol is placed under a cupola in the midst of the building, and the ministers of the idol and those devoted to its service dwell round the cupola. In Multán there are no men, either of Hind or Sind, who worship idols except those who worship this idol in this temple. The idol has a human shape and is naked, with its legs bent in a quadrangular posture on a throne made of brick and mortar. Its whole body is covered with a red skin like morocco leather, and nothing but its eyes are visible. Some believe that the body is made of wood, some deny this, but the body is not allowed to be uncovered to decide the point. The eyes of the idol are precious gems, and its head is covered with a crown of gold. It sits in a quadrangular position on the throne, its hands resting upon its knees with the fingers closed, so that only four can be counted. When the Muhammadans make war upon them and endeavour to seize the idol, the inhabitants bring it out, pretending that they will break it and

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burnt it, upon this the Muhammadan retire, otherwise they would destroy Multán."—(ELL. i, 27.)

Masudi (died 957 A.D.) says Multán contains the idol known by the name Multán; and mentions the pilgrimages to it and the rich present of aloes made to it. 'When the unbelievers march against Multán, and the faithful do not feel themselves strong enough to oppose them, they threaten to break the idol and their enemies immediately withdraw.'—ELL. i, 23.)

Ibn Haukal (976 A.D.) copies Istakhri word for word.—(ELL. i, 35.)

Abu Rihan Albiruni (970-1038\ writes:—

'A famous idol of theirs was that of Multán, dedicated to the sun and therefore called Aditya. It was of wood and covered with red Cordova leather: its two eyes were two red rubies....... When Mahomed Ibn Alkasim Ibn Almunabbih conquered Multán, he inquired why the town had become so very flourishing and so many treasures had there been accumulated; and then he found out that this idol was the cause, for there came pilgrims from all sides to visit it. Therefore he thought it best to leave the idol where it was, but hung a piece of cow's flesh on its neck by way of mockery. On the same place a mosque was built. When then the Karmatians occupied Multán, Jalaun Ibn Shaiban, the usurper, broke the idol into pieces and killed its priests. He made his mansion, which was a castle built of brick, on an elevated place, the mosque instead of the old mosque, which he ordered to be shut, from hatred against anything that had been done under the Caliphs of the house of Umayya. When afterwards the blessed prince Mahomed swept away their rule from these countries he made again the old mosque the place of the Friday worship, and the second one was left to decay. At present it is only a barn floor where branches of Hinna (*Lawsínia inermis*) are bound together.'—(SACHAU, i, 116.)

Again, talking of places of Hindu pilgrimage, the author says: 'They used to visit Multán before its idol temple was destroyed.'—(SACHAU, i, 148.)

Idrisi (about 1103 A.D.) copies a good deal from Istakhri. He says, however, of the idol: 'It is in the human form, with four sides, and is sitting on a seat made of bricks and plaster. . . It is, as we have said, square, and its arms below the elbows seem to be four in number. The temple of the idol is situated in the middle of Multán, in the most frequented bazar. It is a dome-shaped building. The upper part of the dome is gilded, and the dome and the gates are of great solidity. The columns are very lofty, and the walls coloured. . . . . Being ignorant of the name of the man who set it up the inhabitants content themselves with saying it is a wonder.—(ELL. i, 81.)

Kazwini (about 1275 A.D.) says of Multán: 'The infidels have a large temple there and a great idol (budd). The chief mosque is near this temple. . . . . . . All this is related by Misar bin Mahallil . . . The same author says the summit of the temple is 300 cubits, and the height of the idol 20 cubits. The houses of the servants and devotees are round the temple, and there are no idol worshippers in Multán besides those who dwell in those precincts. . . . . Ibn-ul-Fakih says that an Indian came to this idol and placed upon his head a crown of cotton daubed with pitch: he did the same with his fingers, and having set fire to it stayed before the idol until it was burnt.—(ELL. i, 96.)

No other mention of the idol is made before that of Thevenot, the French traveller, who wrote in 1687, and whose description has been quoted above.

The Prahládpuri temple.

On the north edge of the fort is the temple of Prahládpuri, which takes its name from Prahlád, the hero of the story of the Lion or Narsingh Avatár of the god Vishnu.

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The Prahládpuri temple.

The story tells how this country was at one time under the sway of a Raja named Harnákhash (Hiranya Kasipu), a local Mezentius, who condemned the gods and forbade the doing of homage in their name. His son, the pious Prahlád Bhagat, refused to obey his orders, and the tyrant ordered a pillar of gold to be heated with fire, so that the son might be bound to it. When, however, twilight came, and the servants attempted to bind the pious Prahlád to the pillar, the pillar burst in twain, and out sprang the god Vishnu in the form of a Man-Lion, who at once proceeded to lay the king across his knees and rip him open with his claws, in the manner which we see at times so vividly portrayed in the pictures which adorn the walls of Hindú shops and dwellings.*

The temple, lying, as it does, so close alongside the shrine of Baháwal Haqq, is probably an old one,† but it possesses no proper Mahatmya, or sacred chronicle, to show its previous history, the only book of the kind owned by the priests being the Narsing-purán, which is said to contain no local allusions. The temple is noticed by Burnes in his account of Multán quoted above. It was unroofed, and otherwise damaged, by the explosion of the magazine during the siege of 1848. When Cunningham was in Multán in 1853, it was 'quite deserted', but subsequently it was repaired by subscription, and a new image of the Narsingh Avatár was set up in it. It appears that there was formerly an entrance to the temple through the shrine of Baháwal Haqq, but during the years in which the temple was disused this was closed. In 1810 the Hindús raised the height of the spire of the temple, a proceeding which led to protests from the guardians of the neighbouring shrine, and subsequently to a good deal of ill-feeling, which ultimately ended in a serious riot in the city.

The shrine was well supported by the Sikh Government, and still retains some mafi lands. The mahant also receives, or till lately received, an annual contribution from every shop in the city. There is a fair at the Narsingh Chaudas in Jeth (in May), which lasts from 3 to 6 P.M.: towards the end of the fair the people used to throw cucumbers at each other, and the proceedings used to be a bit noisy, but of late years they have become more decorous.

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* This king had, after the style of Balder, received a promise that he would be killed neither in heaven nor on earth, neither by night nor by day, &c.

† Some say that the original Narsingh temple was here, and that the Emperor Sher Shah replaced it by a mosque known as the 'barathambáwála' from its 12 columns. This mosque having fallen in, the Prahládpuri temple was built on its ruins.

CHAPTER IV.

Place of interest.

Shrine of Baháwal Haqq.

Immediately to the west of the Prahládpuri temple is the shrine of Baháwal Haqq.

Sheikh Bahá-ud-din Zakaria, otherwise known as Baháwal Haqq, was, according to Abul Fazl (Jerret iii, 362), 'the son of Wajih-ud-din Muhammad-b-Kamál-ud-din Ali Shah Kurayshi, and was born at Kot Karor,* near Multán, in A. H. 565 (A. D. 1169-70). His father died when he was a child: he grew in wisdom, and studied in Túrán and Irán. He received his doctrine from Sheikh Shiháb-ud-din Suharwardi at Baghdad, and reached the degree of vicegerent. He was on terms of great friendship with Sheikh Farid Shakkarganj, and lived with him for a considerable time. Sheikh (Fakr-ud-din) Irákí and Mir Husayni were his disciples'. Baháwal Haqq was for many years the great saint of Multán, and has still a very extensive reputation in the South-West Punjab and in Sindh. One of his miracles was the preservation of a sinking boat, and the boatmen of the Chenáb and Indus still invoke Baháwal Haqq as their patron saint in times of difficulty. His death is thus described by Abul Fazl: 'On the 7th of Zafar A. H. 665 (7th November 1266), an aged person of grave aspect sent in to him a sealed letter by the hand of his son Sadr-ud-din. He read it and gave up the ghost; and a loud voice was heard from the four corners of the town: "Friend is united to friend" (Dost ba dost rasíd).†

The shrine is said to have been built by the saint himself, and, according to Cunningham, there is only one other specimen of the architecture of this exact period, and that is at Sonepat. The tomb is thus described:—'The lower part of the tomb is a square of 51 feet 9 inches outside. This is surmounted by an octagon, about one-half of the height of the square, above which there is a hemispherical dome. The greater part of the building is a mass of white plaster; but on the eastern side there are still existing some fairly preserved specimens of diaper ornaments in glazed tiles'.‡ The tomb was so much damaged during the siege of 1848 as to become an almost complete ruin. A proposal was made in 1850 by the Local Government that 10,000 rupees should be granted for the repair of this tomb and that of Rukn-i-Alam, but the proposal was not sanctioned, and the shrine was repaired by means of subscriptions collected by the then Makhdum Shah Mahmud.

The shrine contains, besides the tomb of the saint and many of his descendants, that of his son Sadr-ud-din. The

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* This is Karor in the Leiah Tahsíl of Miánwáli.

† Ferishta also gives an account of the saint.

‡ Archæological Survey Reports, v. 131.

§ See Griffin's Punjab Chiefs, new edition, ii. 87.

CHAPTER IV.

Places of interest.

Shrine of Baháwal Haqq.

story is that Baháwal Haqq left enormous sums of wealth to his son, but that Sadr-ud-din, on coming into possession of it, at once distributed the whole of it to the poor, saying that, although his father had sufficiently conquered himself to have no fear of an improper use of it, he himself, not being so advanced in sanctity, dreaded the temptation.* According to Abdul Fazl he died in A. H. 709 (A. D. 1309).†

Opposite the door of the shrine is a small grave adorned with blue tiles, which covers the body of the brave Nawab Muzaffar Khan, who died sword in hand at the gate of the shrine in 1818, defending himself against the assault of the Sikh invaders. On the tomb is the following fine inscription (now nearly obliterated):—

Shujá' was ibn-us Shujá wa Hájí
Amír-i-Multán zahe Muzaffar.
Ba roz-i-Maidán ba tegh o bázú
Che hamla áwurd chún ghazanfar.
Chú surkh-rú shud ba súe jannat
Baguft Rizwán 'Biyá Muzaffar.' (*i.e.*, A. H. 1233.)

Of which the following (though missing some of the points of the original) may be given as a translation:—

The brave, son of the brave, and Háji,
Amir of Multán, O brave Muzaffar,
In the day of battle—with arm and sword—
How lion-like was his onslaught;
When, with face aflame, he set out for Paradise.
The porter of Heaven's gate cried, 'Come O! Muzaffar.'

In these precincts are buried also Shahnawáz Khan, son of Muzaffar Khan, who was killed with his father; the celebrated Makhdum Shah Mahmud, the late Makhdum Baháwal Bakhsh, and most of the eminent members of the Koreshi family. On the eastern wall of the shrine is an inscription commemorating the repair of the dome by one Pír Muhammad, of Thanesar, and over the western gateway is an interesting inscription regarding the exemption of grain from taxation in the year 1762-63 by Ali Muhammad Khan, Khákwáni, then Subadár of Multán. The inscription may be translated as follows:—

In the days of the Duráni Emperor,
When every man's hunger was satisfied with bread,
In every place was bread cheap in price,
Nor was there famine save in Multán alone.‡
No one dieth save from hunger,

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* Ferishta, quoted by Jarret.—Ain iii, 362.

† Jarret.—Ain iii, 365.

‡ The people in the Punjab generally having apparently recovered from the great famine of A.D. 1759-69.

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Places of interest.

Shrine of Baháwal Haqq.

And exaction of grain dues hath made high the price of food.
Now for God's sake and for the sake of the friend of God,
By the aid of the Syads, his noble offspring
And by the grace of the countenance of the great Pir Mahbúb Subháni,
Who in saintness exceedeth all other saints;
By the aid of the countenance of the great Makhdum Bahá-ud-din
And for the sake of Rukn-i-Alam (know this);
And for the praise of Ahmad Shah Abdáli,
From whom the kings of the earth receive their crowns;
Ali Muhammad Khan, the servant of God,
Hath remitted the dues upon grain.
If any Subadár take any due on grain
May his wife be three times utterly divorced.
A voice from heaven cried, in the name of the All-Pure God,
' The year of this event is The eternal Giver of Treasure.'
(*i.e.*, A.H. 1176.)

Shrine of Rukn-i-Alam.

On the south-west side of the fort is the magnificent tomb of Rukn-i-Alam, *alias* Rukn-ud-din Abul Fatteh, the grandson of the saint Baháwal Haqq. Rukn-i-Alam was a man of great religious and political influence in the days of the Tughlak sovereigns, and was in Multán when the city was visited by the traveller Ibn Batuta, in 1334. ' Sheikh Rukn-ud-din ', says Abul Fazl (Jarret, iii, 365), ' was the son of Sadr-ud-din Arif, and the successor of his eminent grandfather. At the time when Sultan Kutb-ud-din (Mubarak Shah Khilji—A.H. 717, A. D. 1317) regarded Sheikh Nizám-ud-din with disfavour, he summoned Sheikh Rukn-ud-din from Multán in the hope of disturbing his influence. On his arrival near Delhi he met Sheikh Nizam-ud-din. Kutb-ud-din, on receiving the Sheikh (Rukn-ud-din), asked him " Who among the people of the city was foremost in going out to meet him "? He replied : " The most eminent person of his age. By the happy answer he removed the king's displeasure".

As regards the teaching of the saint, Griffin writes: 'From what remains of his doctrines, scattered through the works of his dis-
walls, 41 feet 4 inches high and 13 feet 3 inches thick, supported by
ciples, it appears that he taught a modified form of metempsychosis. He asserted that at the day of judgment the wicked would rise in bestial forms suitable to the characters which they had borne on earth : the carnal man would rise a leopard; the licentious man a goat; the glutton, a pig; and so on through the animal kingdom."—(*Punjab Chiefs*, new edition, ii, 85.)

The shrine is thus described by Cunningham.*—" This fine building is an octagon of 51 feet 9 inches diameter inside, with perpendicular sloping towers at the angles. This is surmounted by a smaller octagon of 25 feet 8 inches exterior side and 26 feet 10 inches in height, which leaves a narrow passage all round the top of the lower storey for the 'Muezzin' to call the faithful to prayers from all sides. Above this

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* Archæological Reports, v. 132-4.

Shrine of Rukn-i-Alam.

is a hemispherical dome of 58 feet exterior diameter. The total height of the tomb, including a plinth of 3 feet, is just 2 inches over 100 feet. But as the building stands on the high ground on the north-western edge of the fort, its total height above the country is 150 feet. This great height makes it one of the most striking objects on approaching Multán, as it can be seen for a distance of 12 or 15 miles all round.

'The Rukn-i-Alam is built entirely of red brick, bounded with beams of sisam wood, which are now much decayed. The whole of the exterior is elaborately ornamented with glazed tile panels, and string courses and battlements. The only colours used are dark blue, azure and white, but these are contrasted with the deep red of the finely polished bricks; and the result is both effective and pleasing. These mosaics are not like those of later days,—mere plane surfaces—but the patterns are raised from half an inch to two inches above the back ground. This mode of construction must have been very trouble-some; but its increased effect is undeniable, as it unites all the beauty of variety of colour with the light and shade of a raised pattern. In the accompanying plate I have given a few specimens of these curious and elaborate panels.

"The interior of the Rukn-i-Alam was originally plastered and painted with various ornaments, of which only a few traces now remain. The sarcophagus of Rukn-ud-din is a large plain mass of brick-work covered with mud plaster. About one hundred of his descendants lie around him under similar masses of brick and mud, so that the whole of the interior is now filled with rows of these unsightly mounds.

'There are several curious stories about this tomb, some of which would appear to have originated in the fact that it was first built by Tughlak for himself, and was afterwards given up by his son, Mohammad Tughlak, for the last resting-place of Rukn-ud-din. Tughlak first began to build close to the tomb of Baháwal Haqq, when a voice was heard from the tomb of the saint saying, "You are treading on my body." Another site was then chosen at a short distance when again the saint's voice was heard, saying, "You are treading on my knees." A third site, still farther off, was next taken, when a third time the voice was heard, saying, "You are treading on my feet." Tughlak then selected the present site at the very opposite end of the fort; and as the voice was not heard again, the tomb was finished. Some say that the voice was heard only once, exclaiming "You are treading on my feet."

'Another story is, that Rukn-ud-din, who was originally buried in the tomb of his grandfather Baháwal Haqq, removed himself to his present tomb after his burial. It would appear from the account of Ibn Batuta that the mysterious death of Tughlak was really planned by his son Mohammad, and carried out by Malik Záda, the inspector of buildings, who afterwards became the chief Wazir of Mohammad, with the title of Khwaja-i-Jahan. The Multán saint was present at the catastrophe, and Ibn Batuta's account was obtained direct from him. His words are: "Sheikh Rukn-ud-din told me that he was then near the Sultan, and that the Sultan's favourite son Mahmud was with them. Thereupon Mohammad came and said to the Sheikh: "Master it is now time for afternoon prayer, go down and pray." "I went down," said the Sheikh, "and they brought the elephants upon one side, as the prince and his confidant had arranged; when the animals passed along that side, the building fell down upon the Sultan and his son Mahmud. I heard the noise" continued the Sheikh, "and I returned without having said my prayers. I saw that the building had fallen. The Sultan's son Mohammad ordered pickaxes and shovels to be brought to dig and seek for his father, but he made signs for them not to hurry, and the tools were not brought till after sunset. Then they began to dig and they found the Sultan, who had bent over his son to save him from death."

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'Here we see the anxiety of Mohammad for the safety of Rukn-ud-din, as testified by the saint himself, and at the same time we learn from his trustworthy eye witness that Mohammad made signs to the people not to hurry in bringing tools to extricate his father. His anxiety for the safety of the saint betrays his guilty intentions towards his father; and I think that the people of Multán are right in their belief that the great tomb at Multán was given by Mohammad to Rukn-ud-din as a bribe to keep him quiet regarding the death of Tughlak Shah.'

This shrine and that of Baháwal Haqq are enlivened at times by the visits of bands of pilgrims from Sindh and elsewhere, who march in with flags, crying out in chorus: "Dam Baháwal Haqq! Dam Baháwal Haqq"! The official custodian of the shrines is the Makhdúm, Khan Bahadur Muríd Husain, a viceregal darbari, an account of whose family is given in an earlier chapter.

Memorial obelisk.

In the centre of the fort is an obelisk erected to the memory of Messrs. Agnew and Anderson, who were murdered at the 'Idgah' in 1848. The obelisk is about 50 feet high, with five steps to a pedestal 5 feet high. On a white tablet, on the west face of the pedestal, there is an inscription written by Sir Herbert Edwardes in the taste of the time, which runs as follows:—

Beneath this Monument
Lie the Remains
of
PATRICK ALEXANDER VANS AGNEW,
of the Bengal Civil Service, and
WILLIAM ANDERSON,
Lieutenant, 1st Bombay Fusilier Regiment,
Assistants to the Resident at Lahore,
Who being deputed by the Government to
Relieve, at his own request,
Diwan Mulraj, Viceroy of Multán,
Of the fortress and authority which he held
Were attacked and wounded by the Garrison
On the 19th April, 1848,
And, being treacherously deserted by the Sikh Escort,
Were on the following day,
In flagrant breach of national faith and hospitality,
Barbarously murdered
In the 'Edgah' under the walls of Mooltan
Thus fell
These two young public servants
At the ages of 25 and 28 years
Full of high hopes, rare talents,
And promise of future usefulness,
Even in their death
Doing their Country honour.
Wounded and forsaken

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Places of interest.

Memorial obelisk.

They could offer no resistance,
But hand in hand calmly awaited
The onset of their assailants;
Nobly they refused to yield,
Foretelling the day
When thousands of Englishmen should come
To avenge their death,
And destroy Mulraj, his army, and fortress.
History records
How the prediction was fulfilled.
Borne to the grave
By their victorious Brother Soldiers and Countrymen
They were buried with Military honors,
Here
On the summit of the Captured Citadel,
On the 26th January, 1849.
The annexation
Of the Punjab to the Empire
Was the result of the War,
Of which their assassination
Was the commencement.

To the east of the obelisk are three large sepulchral monuments, with the following inscriptions:—

SACRED to the Memory of Major GEORGE SHEAFE MONTIZAMBERT killed in action in Command of H. M. 10th Regiment, on the 12th September 1848, aged 34 years; and of Captain HOLLINGSWORTH, of the same Regiment, who died of a wound received in the action of the 9th September 1848, aged 30 years.

To the Memory of Second-Lieutenants J. THOMSON and C. T. GRAHAM, Bengal Artillery, who fell at the siege of Multán, 1849. Erected by their Brother Officers.

In Memory of 1 SERGEANT and 13 GUNNERS, Bengal Foot Artillery, who fell at the siege of Multán, 1848-9. This Tomb is erected by their Comrades.

In the open space to the west of the obelisk is the tomb of Syad Darbar Shah, Bukhari, a small structure with an attendant in charge.

(II)—THE CITY.

The City proper of Multán is bounded on the north by the depression lying between it and the fort, and on all other sides by a brick wall.

'The walled city,' writes Cunningham,* 'is 4,200 feet in length and 2,400 feet in breadth, with the long straight side facing the south-

* Archæological Survey Reports, v. 124.

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Places of interest.

Memorial obelisk.

west. Altogther the walled circuit of Multán, including both city and citadel is 15,000 feet, or very nearly three miles; and the whole circuit of the place, including the unwalled suburbs, is from four and a half to five miles. This last measurement agrees exactly with the estimate of Hiuen Thsang, who makes the circuit of Multán 30 "li," or just five miles. It agrees also with the estimate of Elphinstone, who, with his usual accuracy, describes Multán as above four miles and a half in circumference. The fortress had no ditch, when it was seen by Elphinstone and Burnes but a broad deep ditch, which could be readily filled by the waters of the Ravi canals, was shortly afterwards added by Sáwan Mal, the energetic Governor of Multán, under Ranjit Singh. The walls are said to have been built by Murad Bakhsh, the youngest son of Shah Jahán, who was Governor of Multán for a few years towards the close of his reign. But the work of Murad Bakhsh must have been confined to repairs, including a complete facing of the greater part; for when I dismantled the defences of Multán in 1854, I found that the brick walls were generally double, the outer wall being about four feet thick and the inner walls from 3½ to 4 feet. The whole was built of burnt bricks and mud mortar excepting the outer courses, which were laid in lime mortar to a depth of 9 inches.

The city has six gates, which are placed in the following order:—The Lahori or Lohárí gate at its north-western corner; the Bohar gate at its south-western corner. Next to the Bohar gate, on the south, comes the Haram gate; then the Pák gate.* On the eastern side is the Delhi gate, and at the north-eastern corner is the Daulat gate.† The bastion at the south-eastern corner is the Khuni Burj, or Bloody Bastion, where the British troops, on January 2, 1849, stormed the city. On the northern side is a wide approach to the city, rising from the old bed of the Ravi and known as the Husain Gahi.‡ From the Husain Gahi, a wide paved street runs for about half a mile in a southerly direction into the heart of the city. This is known as the chauk, and at two-thirds of its length from the Husain Gahi it sends out a broad street to the Delhi gate on the east, and another to the Lahori on the west. The chauk ends at the mosque of Wali Muhammad, at which point three broad streets branch off to the Bohar, Haram and Pák gates, respectively. The other streets are narrow and tortuous, often ending in *culs de sac*. The central portion of the city near the Wali Muhammad Mosque is known as the "Kup."

The Gardezi shrine.

Of the Muhammadan buildings in the city, the most remarkable is the shrine of Sheikh Muhammad Yusaf Gardezi, near the Bohar gate. This is a rectangular domeless building, plentifully decorated with glazed tile work of considerable beauty. In the same courtyard are several graves; an imambara some 30 years old, a mosque, also modern, and a new building for ablutions; also a small shrine covering a

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* The Pák gate is so called from the adjoining shrine of Musa Pák Shahíd and the Haram gate, from the fact that the zanana of the Giláni descendants of the same saint (Musa Pák Shahíd) was there situated.

† So called because the Moghal court and cantonments were outside this gate in the neighbourhood of the Am Khas. The suburb of Aghapura, to the south of this was the residence of the Moghal lords or aghas.

‡ Said by some to be called after a grass-seller of the name of Husain, the grass market having once been in this neighbourhood. Others derive the name from a Syad Husain Agahi, whose tomb is shown in the neighbourhood.

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The Gardezi shrine.

footprint of the Caliph Ali; but the effect of the buildings is a good deal spoilt by their being closely surrounded by houses. Muhammad Yusaf was a descendant of the prophet through the Imam Hassan, and was born in A. H. 450 (A. D. 1058) at Gardez, near Ghazni, in Afghánistán, to which his grandfather is said to have emigrated from Baghdad. The saint came to Multán, it is said, in A. D. 1088, in the reign of Ala-ud-din Bahram Shah, of the Ghaznavi dynasty. There is at that time a great gap in the history of Multán, and it is very likely, as the family history of the Gardezis states, that the invasion of Sultán Modud in 1042 had entirely obliterated the old city. We are told that the Multán of Modud's time lay to the south of the present city near the tomb of Mulla Mauj, south of Mai Pákdáman; and that Sheikh Muhammad Yusaf, by taking up his abode on the site of the present shrine, then near the banks of the Rávi, induced the people to colonise the present city and fort of Multán. The story probably, in some dim way, represents a change in the course of the Rávi river; and we find the saint's descendants enjoying for many centuries large properties and jagirs along the old banks of the Rávi between Multán and Kabírwála. Sheikh Muhammad Yusaf was a specially gifted man: he could ride tigers and could handle snakes: and for 40 years after his death his hand would occasionally come out of his tomb.

Shrine of Musa Pák Shahíd.

Another well-known shrine in the city is that of Musa Pák Shahíd inside the Pák gate. Sheikh Abdulhassan, Musa Pák Shahíd, a descendant of Abdul Qadir Giláni, was born at Uch in 1545 A. D., and was killed in A. D. 1560 in a skirmish with some raiders near Mangehatti in the south of the Multán tahsíl. His body was brought into Multán by his successor in A. D. 1616: it is said that the body was not decomposed at all, and was brought in sitting on a horse. Among his descendants were Hamid Ganj Bakhsh (buried near Musa Pák Shahíd), Yahya Nawab (buried between the Pák and Haram gates), Inayat Wilayat (buried near the Haram gate in a somewhat conspicuous tomb), and Jan Muhammad (buried at Delhi). The shrine of Musa Pák is largely frequented by Patháns, and there is a small mela on Thursday evenings. Part of the village of Hafizwála in Shujábád is held in jágír by the guardians of the shrine.

Shrine of Sháhdná Shahíd.

Another Muhammadan shrine which may be noted is that of Sháhdná Shahíd, near the Delhi gate. When this saint was 10 months old, his mother made accusations against the great Baháwal Haqq, similar to those which Potiphar's wife made against Joseph. The infant child gave miraculous evidence in favour of the accused, and was accordingly done away with by his mother. He was, however, restored to

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life by Baháwal Haqq, whose faithful attendant he became for the rest of his life. There is a couplet which says:—

Andar Ghaus Baháwal-Haqq; báhar Kutb Faríd;
Je ton bahut utáwali mang Shádí Shahíd.

('Within is Baháwal-Haqq; outside is Kutb Faríd; but if you wish a thing in a great hurry, call on Shádná Shahíd.')

Mosques.

The Wali Muhammad Mosque in the Godri bazar, in the very centre of the town, was built by the Pathan Governor, Ali Muhammad Khan, Khákwáni, in 1758, and exhibits a good specimen of the enamelled tiled work of the district. During the Sikh supremacy, the Názim held his kutchery in the court of this mosque, and a copy of the 'Granth' was kept inside. The use of the mosque was restored to the Mussulmans with the advent of British power.

The Phulhattanwali Mosque in the Chopar bazar, on the western side of the city, is said to have been built by the Emperor, Farukh Siyar. It is said that while the Emperor was here a 'fakir' foretold the birth of his son, and when the son was born the Emperor built this mosque as a memorial. The mosque derives its name from the flower-sellers' shops at the door.

Narsinghpuri temple.

Of the Hindu buildings in the city the most celebrated is the Narsinghpuri temple, which is situated in the Sabz Mandi. The original Narsinghpuri temple mentioned in the histories has been described above, and was situated in the fort. No trace now remains of the old temple, and a new one was built about 1872 A. D. by the Prahládpuri Mohant on the site of a thakurdwara, known as Fateh Chand Tanksália's.

(III)—OUTSIDE THE CITY.

Idgah.

About a mile to the north-east of the city is the Idgah, which was built in 1735 by Nawab Abdussamad Khan, Governor of Lahore. It was employed in Sikh times for military purposes, and it was here that the ill-fated Agnew and Anderson were massacred in 1848. After annexation, the building was for some years used as the Deputy Commissioner's kutchery; but in 1868 it was restored to the Mussalman community on their entering into engagements to preserve the tablet, which was placed under the central dome to the memory of Messrs. Agnew and Anderson. The inscription on the tablet, which is still accordingly preserved, runs: 'Within this dome, on the 19th of April 1848,* were cruelly murdered Patrick Vans Agnew, Esquire, Bengal Civil Service, and Lieutenant William Anderson, 2nd Bombay Fusiliers, Assistants to the Resident at Lahore'. The 'Idgah' before annexation suffered from an explosion

* A curious mistake. The real date was the 20th.

Idgah.

of powder while it was used as a powder magazine by the Sikhs. It was also in some disrepair as late as A. D. 1891, when it was restored at the instance largely of Mr. H. C. Cookson, the Deputy Commissioner, and of Nawab Muhammad Hyat Khan, the Divisional Judge, some Rs. 10,000 being collected by subscriptions and Rs. 10,000 being subscribed by Government on condition of the maintenance of the tablet above mentioned. The proportion of real tile work on the outside to imitation paint or plaster is not sufficiently large to dissipate a certain impression of tawdriness, but in other aspects the mosque is a fine building. It is 240 feet long by 54 feet broad, and has one central dome, with open chambers on either side. It is faced by a fine brick paved courtyard with a small brick wall along side.

Bákírabádi mosque.

Some two miles east of the 'Idgah', near the Durána Langána Canal, is the Bákirábádi Mosque, built by Bákir Khan, who was Subadar of Multán about the year 1720. In Diwán Sáwan Mal's time it was common for parties in a suit to be sent to this mosque to take oaths on the matter in dispute, the oaths taken in this mosque being held peculiarly sacred. The building is now in ruins.

Bába Safra.

South of the 'Idgah' is the shrine of Bába Safra, round which in Sikh times the army used to be cantoned. There is a camping-ground here which is known in the route books as the Am Khas, and opposite it a small European cemetery.*

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* This cemetery contains the graves of the following persons:—Captain John Inglis, 11th Bengal Light Cavalry, died 16th February 1849 in his 44th year. William, eldest son of Sergeant-Major and Catherine Reid, Bombay Rifles, deceased 14th June 1849, ætat 2 years and 10 months. G. M. Barker, Esquire, Indus Flotilla, died 16th June 1849, aged 29 years. W. H. Anderson, Lieutenant, Bombay Artillery, who departed this life at Multán, June 22nd, 1849, aged 20. Captain W. G. C. Hughes, 4th Bombay Rifles, died 1st July 1849, age 30 years. Edwin Charles Fuller, the beloved child of Lieutenant and Mrs. Stevens, 11th Regiment N. I., who departed this life 25th February 1850, aged 4 months and 18 days. Catherine Barfoot, wife of Sergeant J. A. Barfoot, 2nd Company, 1st Battery Artillery, who departed this life in childbirth on the 28th September 1851, aged 22 years 2 months and 2 days; also of Catherine Sophia Barfoot, wife of Sergeant J. A. Barfoot, 2nd Company, 1st Battery May 1852, aged 7 months and 20 days. John Conlon, Patrol Preventive Service, Sutledge Line, who died on his way from Sultanpur to Multán on 21st June 1852, aged 34 years. Ellen and Denis, the beloved children of Ellen and Corns O'Leary, Cattle Sergeant, Multán: the former died 11th September 1852, the latter on 3rd July 1853. Percy James, infant son of Mr. and Mrs. William Ellison, Barí Doab Survey, who died at Shoojabad, 14th December 1857, aged 20 days. Hugh Bernard Biggen, the beloved son of M. A. Biggen and Sergeant, died 10th May 1861, at the age of 3 months and 3 days. Mary Anne Eleanor Biggen, daughter of M. A. Biggen and Sergeant H. Biggen, Ordnance Department, who departed this life at Multán on the 11th August 1861, aged 2 years and 11 months. Mrs. B. S. Chakrabarti, beloved wife of Mr. K. D. Chakrabarti, died 20th June 1872, aged 36 years. Jane Laura, infant daughter of Wm. and Mary K. Chand, aged 10 months and 7 days (no date).

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Shams Tabrez.

To the south of this lies the shrine of Shams Tabrez. The shrine is said to be named after one Shams-ud-din, of Sabzawár, in Afghanistán, a decsendant of the Imám Jafar, who was born in A. D. 1165. This saint raised from the dead the son of the ruler of Ghazni, and afterwards came to Multán, which at that time was full of holy men. The chief of these, the holy Baháwal Haqq, sent to the new arrival a 'lota' full of milk, indicating thereby that there was no room for him in the city, where there were already as many saints as could be supported. Shams-ud-din, however, returned the 'lota', after placing a rose leaf on the surface of the milk, and the delicate reply was appreciated. His death is said to have taken place in A. D. 1276, and the shrine was first built by his grandson in A. D. 1330. It was, however, practically rebuilt, at great expense, by one of the saint's followers as late as A. D. 1780. The guardians of the shrine are Shiás, and they declare that the Shams, after whom the shrine is named, is called Shams Tabrez by mistake, the real cognomen being Tap-rez or Heat-giving.* The legends connecting the saint with the sun are thus described by Cunningham :—

'There are several legends about Shams Tabrez, but they all agree in attributing the great heat of Multán to the direct influence of the saint, in causing the sun to approach nearer to Multán than to other parts of the earth. One of the stories is related by Burnes, who calls him "Shams-i-Tabrezi, a saint from Bagdad, who is believed to have performed many miracles, and even raised the dead. This worthy, as the story is told, was flayed alive for his pretensions. He had long begged his bread in the city, and in his hunger caught a fish, which he held up to the sun and brought that luminary near enough to roast it. This established his memory and equivocal fame on a firmer basis. The natives to this day attribute the heat of Multán, which is proverbial, to this incident." According to another version, the saint had begged for food through the city in vain, and when he was dying from hunger he prayed to the sun in his anger: 'O sun, your name is Shams, and my name is Shams, come down and punish the people of Multán for their inhumanity.' The sun at once drew nearer, and the heat of Multán has ever since been greater than that of any other place. Another version attributes the prayer of the saint to the persecution and taunts of the people, who used to disturb and worry him when he was at his devotions.'

A similar tale is given in Malcolm's History of Persia (1829, ii, 282), but without special reference to Multán: and Malcolm describes this saint as one of the sect of Sufis. The attendants at the shrine of Ram Tirath, it may be noted, have similar tales regarding Keshpuri and connect the Hindu and the Muhammadan saints together. The building of Shams Tabrez is thus described by Cunningham :—

'The main body of the tomb is a square of 34 feet side, and 30 feet in height, surrounded by a verandah with seven openings on each side. Above this it takes an octagonal shape, and is surmounted by a hemispherical dome covered with glazed sky-blue tiles. The whole height is 62 feet. I could not learn the date of Shams-i-Tabrez himself, as the

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* Curzon's Persia, Vol. 1, p. 519.

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people of Multán are profoundly ignorant of everything, except certain silly miraculous stories of their saints. But the building itself cannot be earlier than the time of the Mughals; and the people themselves say it is not quite 200 years old. Portions of the walls are ornamented with patterns in glazed tiles, but the colours are chiefly blue and white, with a perfectly even surface, which betrays a late age. There are however, many fragments of glazed tile work of an earlier age let into the gateway and walls of the surrounding court-yard, which, according to the people, belonged to the old original tomb of the saint, which is referred to the time of "Tughal Badshah" (Tughlak) by some, and to a much earlier date by others.'

Shams Tabrez.

Mr. Eastwick in Murray's Handbook adds:—

'To the left of the entrance is a small square building, dignified with the name of the Imámbárah. Low down in the wall is inscribed: "The slave of God Mian died 7th of Muharram 1282, A.H." (A.D. 1865). On one of the alcoves in the corridor is a heart of a deep blue colour, with "O God" in the centre and near it a *panja*, or hand, well painted. There are two inscriptions on the door of the tomb in Persian of 12 and 14 lines, respectively, in praise of the saint.'

Am Khas and neighbourhood.

South of the tomb of Shams Tabrez is the Am Khas garden, so called, because in the days of Shahzáda Murád Bakhsh, son of Sháh Jahán, the public receptions were held here, private receptions being held in the fort. This was a very favourite place of Diwán Sáwan Mal, who used to hold his kutcherry here, and who did a good deal to beautify the surroundings. It was here that Sáwan Mal was assassinated, and it was to this place that his son Mulráj fled when Agnew was attacked outside the Sikhi gate of the fort. The old buildings have been made into the tahsíl, and a large part of the grounds are now a public garden, maintained by the municipality. North of the tahsíl are the stallion stables and the ground on which the annual horse fair is held. To the west are the remains of a Wahábi mosque. To the south is the Zabardast Khán garden, which includes a disused swimming bath, and is also maintained by the municipality.

To the east of the tahsíl, on the north side of the Lahore road, is the samádh, or cenotaph of Diwán Sáwan Mal, which is maintained by the family with the aid of a small grant of revenue. To the south of this and east of the tahsíl is the khánkah of Háfiz Muhammad Jamál, a holy man, who died in 1811 A. D. There is a curious legend which identifies the disciples of this saint as the spiritual counterparts of the temporal power for the time being. In 1848-49, for instance so long as Munshi Ghulam Husain, the disciple of Muhammad Jamál, was alive the rule of Diwán Mulráj prevailed; but when this man had been shot by a British soldier, the city capitulated to the English next day. A little to the north of Shams Tabrez is a curious shrine in a garden known as the shrine of Sakhi Sháh Habíb. Sháh Habíb is said to have been the *alias* of no less a person than Sultán Sháh Shuja, the son of Sháh Jahán, who when he disappeared from public life is said to have settled down in Multán

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as a fakír. The shrine is connected with the somewhat disreputable Rasúl Sháhi sect of fakírs.

Suraj Kund.

To the south of the railway about 4 miles south of Multán is Suraj Kund, a celebrated tank and shrine. Although the brick work of the tank was built by Diwán Sáwan Mal, and the adjoining building even later, the spot itself has been one of considerable sanctity from a very remote period, and the legends regarding it interweave in a curious way, the stories of the two forms of Hindu worship for which Multán has been so famous, *viz.*, that of the Sun and that of Vishnu in the form of Narsingh. The tale is that when Vishnu appeared as a Man-Lion to tear up the tyrant Hirnákhash, his anger was so hot that all the gods came down to earth to appease him, and the place where they alighted was an old haunt of the Sun deity, situated where the tank of Suraj Kund now stands. The mohant and his disciples are Bairágis, and they have tales connecting the site with Keshopuri, the Hindu Shams Tabrez, to whom reference has been made above. There is a very fine garden attached to the shrine, and the place is maintained partly by the aid of a perpetual grant of land revenue from Government. It is a common resort of Hindus from the city, and there are two large annual fairs here in winter and one in summer.

Jogmaya.

On the road between Suraj Kund and the city one crosses the Wali Muhammad canal by a bridge, which was a strategic point of some importance during the operations of 1848-49. Further on, to the west of the road, is a *kacha* tank, known as Chandar Kund, or the Moon's tank. Near this also, but on the west of the road, is the mound of Mulla Mauj, who is said to have been the first Muhammadan saint to come to Multán. Nearer the city, on the east side of the road, is the shrine of Jogmaya, which marks the spot where Devi tarried when the gods came down to appease the angry Narsingh. In Aurangzeb's time there was only a platform here, where goats were offered; but new buildings were made in the Pathán times, and these were much improved in the days of Sáwan Mal. There is a story that when the shrine of Totla Mái was destroyed (see below), the lights of that shrine moved over of themselves to the shrine of Jogmaya, and these lights are the chief object of devotion at Jogmaya at the present day.

Totla Mái.

The shrine of Totla Mái used to stand on the west side of the Suraj Kund road, on the immense mound, which there marks one of the early traditional sites of Multán city. There is an old couplet which runs—

Hingláj pachham Shástri, Totla ghar Multán
Nagarkot Dukh-bhanjni tínon deo pardhán;

which is being interpreted: 'There are three goddesses of fame: Shástri in Hingláj of the west; Totla whose home is Multán, and Dukh-bhanjni in Nagarkot.'

Totla Mái.

In the days of Aurangzeb an attempt was made to turn the temple into a mosque, whereupon the goddess walked out and jumped into the adjoining well, still known as the Múratwála well. The pujári of the shrine was, however, somewhat of a physician, and having cured the king's son of an internal pain, he got leave to take the image out of the well and convey it to a small house in the city. The present shrine, which is near the Haram gate, inside the city, was begun in Sikh times when Badan Hazari was kárdár.

Sura Miáni.

A short distance to the north of the civil station, on the Rájghát Road, is the shrine of Shah Ali Akbar in Sura Miáni. The two buildings at the shrine are finely situated amidst a grove of trees, and are profusely decorated with coloured tiles. The saint was a descendant of Shah Shams-ud-din; and his disciples and descendants inhabit the adjoining village. There was a good deal of commerce between this village and Kabul in the days of Durráni sovereignty, and this is said to be reflected in the architecture of the houses, which so resembles that of Kábul, that Sura Miáni is often spoken of as 'a mohalla of Kábul'. There is a considerable fair in the neighbourhood on the day of the Baisákhi.

TULAMBA TOWN.

Tulamba

The present town of Tulamba appears to have been preceded by at least two previous sites, one of which was at the huge mound known as "Mánú Sher", a mile or so to the south-east of the present town, and the other among the ruins which extend immediately to the west. Local tradition ascribes the foundation to one Raja Tal, a descendant of Raja Saliváhan of Siálkot, from whom the fort was called 'Tal Ubha' (or Northern Tal); others, with a shade less of improbability, say "Tul Ubha" (the Northern Fort). Whether Tulamba is, as Cunningham suggests, the "χωρίον ὀχυρὸν καὶ τετειχισμένον.", taken by Alexander, or, as Masson suggests, the "Βραχμάνων πόλις", also taken by the same conqueror, is a question somewhat difficult of solution; the distances given being rather in favour of the former conjecture, while the fact that the city is still a stronghold of Brahmans is to some extent in favour of the latter. There is a tradition that it was taken by Mahmud of Gazni, but its first appearance in actual history is during the invasion of Tamerlane, who himself in his Memoirs gives the following account of his capture and sack of the city (October 1898):—

"When I arrived at the city of Tulamba I pitched my camp at the bank of the river. Tulamba is about seventy miles from Multán. On the same day the Syads, and 'Ulama, and Sheikhs, and chief men and rulers of Tulamba came out to meet me, and enjoyed the honour of kissing my stirrup. As sincerity was clearly written on their foreheads, every one of them, according to his rank, was distinguished by marks of my princely favour. Marching forward I halted on

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Tulamba.

Saturday, the 1st of the month Safar in the plain which lies before the fortress of Tulamba. My Wazirs had fixed the ransom of the people of the city at two lakhs of rupees, and appointed collectors; but as the Syads, who are family and descendants of our Lord Muhammad, the chosen, and the 'Ulama of Islam, who are the heirs of the prophets (upon him and upon them be blessings and peace), had always in my court been honoured and treated with reverence and respect, I gave orders now that a ransom was about to be levied from the citizens of Tulamba, that whatever was written against the names of the Syads and 'Ulama should be struck out of the account, and I sent them away, having filled their hearts with joy and triumph by presents of costly dresses of honour and Arab horses. A reinforcement of troops arrived about this time, so that my troops became more numerous than the tribes of ants and locusts, causing scarcity of provisions, so that there was a dearth of grain in my camp, though the people had quantities. Since a part of the ransom, consisting of coin, had not yet been collected, and since my troops were distressed on account of the scarcity of provisions, I ordered that the citizens should make payment in grain instead of money; but they persisted in storing up their corn, totally regardless of the sufferings of my troops. The hungry Tatars, making a general assault upon them like ants and locusts plundered an enormous number of granaries, so numerous, indeed, as to be incalculable, and according to the text, "Verily kings when they enter a city utterly ruin it," the hungry Tatars opened the hands of devastation in the city till a rumour of the havoc they were making reached me. I ordered the Syads and Tawachis to expel the troops from the city, and commanded that whatever corn and other property had been plundered should be taken as an equivalent for so much ransom. At this time it was represented to me that some of the chief zamíndárs of the environs of Tulamba, at the time when Prince Pir Muhammad was marching on Multán, had presented themselves before him, walking in the path of obedience and submission, but when they had received their dismissal, and returned to their own home, they planted their feet on the highway of contumacy and rebellion. I immediately gave orders to Amir Shah Malik and to Sheikh Muhammad, the son of Aiku, Timur, to march with their tumans and kushuns against these rebels, and to inflict condign punishment upon them. Amir Shah Malik and Sheikh Muhammad taking a guide with them, instantly commenced their march, and having arrived at the jungles in which these wretches, forsaken by fortune, had taken refuge, they dismounted, and entering the jungle slew two thousand of these ill-fated Indians with their remorseless sabres, carrying off captives their women and children, and returned with a great booty of kine, buffaloes, and other property. When on their victorious return they displayed in my sight the spoils they had won, I ordered to make a general distribution to the soldiery. When my mind was satisfied with the extermination of these wretches on Saturday, the 7th of Safar, I set my foot in the stirrup and marched from Tulamba.'

The statement made in Dow's translation of Firishta (i., 487) that the fort was left untouched because its capture would have delayed Tamerlane's progress does not seem to be supported by the original. The city, however, seems to have continued in existence, and its removal to its present, or at any rate to another, site is ascribed to a change in the course of the river in the days of Mahmúd Khán, Langáh, at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Tulamba appears in the Sikh legends as the scene of adventure experienced with a thag by Guru Nanak. The city is mentioned as one of the mahals of Multán Sirkar in the days of Akbar, and

in Sháh Jahán's time it was the site of one of the seráis on the road between Lahore and Multán. This serái is said to have been cut away by the river in A. D. 1750. The city was looted by Ahmad Shah, Abdáli, in one of his incursions, but recovered prosperity under Sharif Beg, afterwards Naib-Názim of Multán, who built (about 1759 A. D.) the striking enclosure (said to have been a serái), which still stands on the south-west edge of the town, and in which are situated the thána, school, post office and other Government buildings.

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Tulamba.

The site of the old city at Mámú Sher is thus described by Cunningham, who visited it twice:—

"It consisted of an open city, protected on the south by a lofty fortress 1,000 feet square. The outer rampart is of earth, 200 feet thick, 20 feet high on the outer face, or *faussebraie*, with a second rampart of the same height on the top of it. Both of these were originally faced with large bricks, 12 by 8 by 2½ inches. Inside the rampart there is a clear space or ditch, 100 feet in breadth, surrounding an inner fort 400 feet square, with walls 40 feet in height, and in the middle of this there is a square tower or castle, 70 feet in height, which commands the whole space. The numerous fragments of bricks lying about, and the still existing marks of the courses of the bricks in many places on the outer faces of the ramparts, confirm the statements of the people that the walls formerly faced with brick.

The traveller Masson, who was here about 1827 A. D., writes—

"Another march brought us to the neighbourhood of Tulamba, surrounded by groves of date trees and, to appearance, a large, populous and walled-in town. I did not visit it, for, although we stayed three or four days in its neighbourhood, I fell sick. Close to our camp was, however, the ruins of a mud fortress with walls and towers unusually huge and thick. I cannot call to mind the name it bears."

And he proceeds to identify the fortress (the Mámú Sher mound) with the Brahman city of Arrian.

APPENDIX I.

BALLAD OF THE MULTAN CAMPAIGN, 1848-49.

*By Sobha, son of Fazil, Biloch, of Wáhi Tájewálá, Tahsíl Shujábád, who died about 1870 A. D. at the age of 60.**

1. Angrezán wi cháre ní kíte, Charh Multán wí áyá.	1. The English made an attempt, They marched to Multán.
2. Wich mutábiat házir thiye, Wanj Múle sis niwáyá.	2. Múla presented himself humbly, He went and bowed his head.
3. Bát kahí Angrez ihá, Phir nál Diwán aláyá.	3. The Englishman spoke thus Addressing the Diwán:
4. Súbe kul Panjábí Sáhib chá mauqúf karáyá.	4. 'All the Governors in the Panjab, Have the Sáhibs had dismissed.
5. Ghin sipáh uthá tamámí, Sat ghat mulk paráyá.	5. Take away all thy troops, Yield up the realm which is no longer thine.'
6. Akhyus nahín adúl mekon til jittí, Sáhib jiwen farmáyá.	6. He said to them: 'I cannot but obey, Even as the Sáhib hath spoken.'
7. Hukm kítá Angrezán Múle charh kar shahr phiráyá.	7. The English gave the order Múla mounted and showed them the city.
8. Dekhan nál khánqáhán de Sáhib Múle kanún puchhwáyá.	8. On seeing the shrines The Sáhibs made enquiry of Múla.
9. Eh gumbad kihán níshánián? Ithán kain eh naqsh banáyá?	9. 'What signify these domes? Who made these wonderful buildings'?
10. Akhyus eh hin khánqáhán pírán dián Jinhán he Multán banáyá.	10. He said to them: 'They are the shrines of the pírs Of them that made Multán.
11. Gaí he khák chumendí har kai Jo Súbá ithe áyá.	11. All that have come hitherto as Governors Have kissed the dust before them.'
12. Akhyus khákí khám karesán gumbad Jo main hik gurz chaláyá.	12. The Englishman answered: 'I shall beat the domes to dust With one sweep of my mace.'
13. Díwáná há aswár pakhí dá Rakhke qadam sawáyá.	13. The Dìwán rode on a fiery horse Which moved forward before the rest.
14. Angrez uláriyá chábak Ghorá Múle dahon dauráyá.	14. The Englishman raised his whip,† Thereon Múla spurred on his horse.
15. Barchhí már sipáhí dauriyá Wendá nazar ná áyá.	15. A soldier struck the Englishman with his spear and ran And became lost to sight.
16. Thí zakhmí Angrez giyá Wal dere dahon sidháyá.	16. The Englishman was wounded And returned quickly to his camp.
17. Díwán áya wich kháne de Jain musaddí kul sadáyá.	17. The Díwán entered his home And called all his ministers.
18. Akhyus bandobast badho kái changí, Iwen ghamzade farmáyá.	18. Said he: 'Give me good counsel,' So spake he in his dejection.
19. Wer rakhán main shihán nál, Bhárí jang ghazab da cháyá.	19. 'I have a feud with lions, I have provoked a terrible war.

* It may be noted here that the transliteration and translation of this ballad are only in the rough, and could doubtless be much improved by an expert in the local dialect.

† This version of the origin of the outbreak is, I believe, entirely legendary. At his trial Mulraj had every opportunity of stating his own case, and this story was nowhere hinted at throughout the proceedings.

20. Hathún chhut giyán dorán, Oh welá háth ná áyá.	20. The reins have slipped from my hands I have let go the opportunity.'
21. Musaddí ral saláh dittí, Díwán kún samjháya.	21. His ministers gave counsel together, They spake thus to the Diwán.
22. Kití baras khazána terá, Khutde nahín khutáyá.	22. 'Thy treasury, if opened, Will last out many years.
23. Kôt qilá gadh yákí, Na de mul ajáyá.	23. Thy towns and forts are strong and powerful, Cast them not away in vain.'
24. Pakke the hamráh Gorkhe, Rohelián bhárá cháya.	24. The Gurkhas promised to remain firm by him, The Rohelas (Patháns) took up the load of responsibility.*
25. Hindú Singh topán de utte Badh kamar kar áyá.	25. Hindu Singh girded up his loins And came to his guns.
26. Gole gird maresán girdún Jé tháín sáit bacháya.	26. 'I shall fire shot on shot,' Quoth he, 'while life lasts.'
27. Ahá samán age da Múle Behad bahún karáyá.	27. Múla had made beforehand Many preparations.
28. Dárú loh, patthar te sikká, Undá ant na páyá.	28. Power, iron, stone, money, There was no limit to them.
29. Atá, ghíú, mitháí, arzán, Beshumár anáyá.	29. Flour, ghi sweetmeats, He had collected beyond count.
30. Qalam jári wich lashkar de, Mawájib chá wadháyá.	30. He issued orders to the army, He raised their allowances.
31. Sun sun áwan sipáhí, Chhik Azráíl ghin áyá.	31. As they heard it the soldiers crowded in, The Angel of Death dragged them on.
32. Pahli ránd rasi itháín, Chá Angrezán kún bhuláya.	32. At the first rush people collected together, They forgot the power of the English.
33. Trut gaí sipáh sabhá, Jinhán khar Sardár kuháyá.	33. In the end their whole force was dispersed They saw their Chiefs seized and killed before them.
34. Mang amán sipáhí chhutte, Thí naukar jí chhurwáyá.	34. The soldiers asked for pardon They took service and saved their lives.
35. Jin kin chhutíán dákán Kághaz Kalkatte dáhon pucháya.	35. Letters were sent out on all sides, A message was sped to Calcutta.
36. Sun Angrez hairán thae, Parh likhíá pur máyá.	36. As they heard the news, the English were distressed. As they read what was written, they were full of astonishment.
37. Is dhotí ban karár utte Kahín nahín itbár thahráya.	37. No one could believe it of This dhoti-wearing Kirár!
38. Takkar jhaleso bádsháhán dí, Jaín chá fatúr khindáyá.	38. You shall find you have offended kings, You that have raised this trouble.
39. Jin kin chhútíán dákán, Har mulkán wich sunáyá.	39. Letters were sent out on all sides, The news was spread in every country.
40. Likhíá Sáhib lokán dá Khán chum chat akhín te láyá.	40. The Khán (of Baháwalpur) kissed and licked and put to his eyes, The message of the Sáhibs.
41. Bakhsh dewe jágírán, Jain kul ráje kún sadwáya.	41. The Government will give jágírs Having summoned all the Chiefs.
42. Baí bhí bahún sipáh kharái, Khazána khán halyáyá.	42. Other troops he collected Much treasure did the Khán spend.
43. Toman mil smále thae Sad kolun Khán balháyá.	43. The tumans were collected together, The Khán called them to his side.
44. Hukm bajá ándone Jo parh Kháne munh aláyá.	44. They obeyed the order Which the Khán spake unto them.
45. Wich lashkar de bakhshí Fateh Muhammad Khán thahráyá.	45. He made Fateh Muhammad Khan The Bakhshí (commander) of the army.
46. Lashkar langh pawe satwíwín Wáda Khán Sáhib farmáyá.	46. The Khán Sáhib promised That the army would cross the river on the 27th of the month.

* The Gurkhas were those of Agnew's guard who deserted him. The Rohelas were the Multán Patháns.

47. Chhikián áyan sab berián
Te kul maláh sadwáyá.
48. Tarfún wí Angrez de
Langh Pír Bráhim áyá.
49. Sarwar Sháh Pír kún
Urwárún Khán sadwáyá.
50. He oh mard zoráwar
Jaindá he shihán te sáyá.
51. Lare waráin na rahsí hargiz
Kolun phir takáyá.
52. Alipur jang jhalli Tibbi Sayadán
Thi Shahíd dikháyá.
53. Maut piyálá ajalwála
Chum chat akhín te cháyá.
54. Pahla derá kúch kitone,
Tán wanj Gawen qadam aráyá.
55. Topán chhute ghubáre,
Tán wanj Shujabád kambáyá.
56. Fikr piyá karárán kún
Lang Dádpotra áyá.
57. Bhanná Mohan Multán dahon
Jain lashkar jald anáyá.
58. Dunián desan be sir bahún,
Je qismat Kot bacháyá.
59. Rám Rakhiá te Jáhar Singh
Thí mukhtárí áyá.
60. Wanj laran parere Kot kanún
Eh Mohan Rám aláyá.
61. Charh dal Singhan dá
Tán jiwen Kot Hassan de áyá.
62. Di kirár Nonárán di
Phir Geje án sunáyá.
63. Rátín án charhíone topán
Singhán dá bhiráya.
64. Gawen kanún charh thee ráwána
Naqárá kúch wajáyá.
65. Naqárá wajje Dín da
Har mulkán wich sunáyá.
66. Súhín nahin zamínán de,
Chá Kháwand mulk dikháyá.
67. Hik mard Bukhári dhro kítá,
Chit chárá rare ghin áya.
68. An dhake han wich topán
Gard ghubár utháya.
69. Hik sáre dhup malúkán kún,
Dúja páni bin sukáya.
70. Hik dính qahr dá táman tattá
Dújá bhá munjháyá.

47. All the boats were seized,
And all the boatmen summoned.
48. From the side of the English
49. The Khán called over from this side Sarwar Sháh Pír.
50. That man was powerful
As he was feared by lions.
51. There was doubt that he would never refrain from opposing the English,
So the Khán kept him at his side.
52. At Alipur there was fight, at Tibbi Sayadan *
He became a martyr.
53. The fateful cup of death
He accepted it with zeal.
54. Marching thence they pitched their first camp,
Then went they and halted at Gawen.
55. The guns began to roar
They struck terror in Shujábád.
56. The Kirárs were filled with distress
At the oncoming of the Daudputras.
57. Mohan ran speedily to Multán,†
And fetched quickly thence an army.
58. 'I will give you,' he said, 'much wealth;
If fate shall preserve Kot.'‡
59. Ram Rakhia and Jowáhir Singh
Went as his emissaries.
60. 'Go and fight beyond Kot,'
Quoth Mohan Rám.
61. Marched forth the army of the Singhs,
Then came it to Kot Hassan.§
62. Thereon came Geja and gave news (to the Khán's army)
That the Kirárs were at Nunár.
63. At night they brought up their guns.
And opposed the Singhs.
64. Forth from Gawen marched the army
To the roll of kettledrums.
65. The roll of the drums of the Faith
Was made to be heard in all lands.
66. They (the Sikhs) know not the country,
God showed them the land.
67. One man, a Bukhári Syad, deceived them
He led them astray in a wilderness.
68. They came within range of the guns,
The guns filled the air with dust.
69. Not only did the heat scorch their tender bodies,
But it also parched them from want of water.
70. Not only was the day one of terrific heat (like a copper vessel),
But the fire of the guns also distressed them.

* The present village of Basti Sayadan. The Alipur mentioned is the village of that name in the Shujábad tahsíl.

† Mohan was Mohan Lál, a prominent member of the Babla family, after whom the village of Mohanpur, is named.

‡ By 'Kot' is meant Shujábád

§ *i.e.*, Gardezpur.

71.	Trut gián mihr dián tárán Rukh Azráil dikháyá.	71.	Broken were all the cords of love, The Angel of Death displayed his countenance.
72.	Kehre sar de pakhí áhe Kithe jamán jayá	72.	Of what grove were they the birds? In what birth-place were they born?
73.	Haddán nál na had ralle Phir jún jangal dá áyá.	73.	Their bones lay not with their fathers' bones, Their souls passed into the jangal.
74.	Was kanún be was hoe Anchíttá wadá páyá.	74.	Their strength became as no strength, Great and unthought of was the calamity.
75.	Sift karán Angrezán dí, Itbit mulk lattárí áyá.	75.	Let me speak the praise of the English Of Itbit * that came by forced marches.
76.	Már Tíwána tábe kitus Jain wanj Sayál niwáyá.	76.	He has smitten and subdued the Tiwanas, He had made the Syáls to bow their heads.
77.	Agún táb na ándi Dere, Jain wanj hoká Sangarh páyá.	77.	Dera could not stand against him, The terror of his name reached Sanghar.
78.	Langh pawe oh jaldí Jekún top awáz sunáyá.	78.	He crossed the river in haste When he heard the roar of the guns.
79.	Jaldi dauriá Singhán te, Jald pahr wich áyá.	79.	He rushed in haste on the Singhs, In haste he came without delay.
80.	Weráh kitone Singhán kún, Jún machhi jál phaháyá.	80.	They surrounded the Singhs on all sides, They caught them like fish in a net.
81.	An imán badhone jinhán Morchá án aráyá.	81.	They came on in confidence, And erected their batteries.
82.	Fateh Khán Gori top utte Badh kamar kar áyá.	82.	Fateh Khán Gori girt up his lions, And came to the gun.
83.	Kar ke shist chaláus gola Topán wich raláyá.	83.	He aimed and fired a shot, He made it fall among the enemy's guns.
84.	Wanj daháyus top Singhán dí kún Te golamdáz udáyá.	84.	He caused the Singhs' gun to fall He blew up the gunner.
85.	Sikh pawan kar tikh laran da Munsif nahín wanjáyá.	85.	If truth be told, The Sikhs fought and laid on gallantly.
86.	Bál gashtán bandúqán márián Wáh wáh lar dikháyá.	86.	They plied their guns and muskets. A glorious fight they showed.
87.	Bhaj bhaj laran Pathán uthán Jinhán mehná piyá mokháyá.	87.	There rushed the Patháns to the fight. Disdaining to flee.
88.	Wáh wáh laran Baloch Chándie, Jinhán kar insáf dikháyá.	88.	The Chándia Biloches † also fought valiantly, They showed their power of fighting.
89.	Topán wich márin talwárin, Tán gawáh karendá áyá.	89.	They smote with their swords amid the guns, So that they convinced the bystanders of their courage.
90.	Bháí Dád Potre wi Bhár wangún tarkáyá.	90.	The Daudputrás also. Made the enemy spring like gram in a parching-pan.
91.	Jíwen baghvár bhedán wich pawe Már agún chá láyá.	91.	As a wolf among the sheep, So did they chase the enemy before them.
92.	Maut khumár karárán kún, Bhaj Singh dá lashkar áyá.	92.	Death and senselessness came on the Kirárs, When the army of the Singhs came fleeing.
93.	Mil sahúkári Kotwale Ral iho pak pakáyá.	93.	The sahukars of Kot met together. And came to this decision:
94.	Sáhibí tán Singhán dí wich, Asán wadá lod ludáyá.	94.	'In the rule of the Singhs' they said, 'We have had much favour shown us.
95.	Chal milún Sáhib lokán kún, Je qismat chá bacháyá.	95.	'Come, let us meet the Sáhibs If fate should spare us.'
96.	Kunjián án hazúr rakhione Piyá badsháhí sáyá.	96.	They brought forward the keys of the town, And laid them before the conquerors.

* i.e., Edwardes.
† The poet's tribute to his own tribe.

97.	Kot kanún charh thai rawána, Mushkil pendá áyá.	97.	The army marched from Kot, It came a weary stage.
98.	Pakká Derá burd kitone Suraj Kund jamáyá.	98.	They halted finally, And encamped at Suraj Kund.
99.	Nikal pawe Multánún Múla Ura án kharáyá.	99.	Múla came out from Multán And pitched his camp on the hither side.
100.	Akhyus hargaz jí jí marná Chá hírá hathá wich páyá.	100.	He said he would fight to the death, He wore a diamond on his hand.
101.	Topán wich ghatái chhare Kare fareb sawáyá.	101.	He discharged shot from his gun, He tried every device in his power.
102.	Wal bhái Dádpotre wí Bhár wangún tarkáyá.	102.	Then the Daudputrás also Made the enemy spring like gram in a parching-pan
103.	Bande te qatal ám húi, Jo khás qalam te áyá.	103.	Many were captured and slain, Which was clear to all.
104.	Derá wiún hatione, Tán wanj qile wich pháyá.	104.	They moved away their camp, And entered into the fort.
105.	Sirkarde bahún kam ái Mian kehra gin sunáya.	105.	Many leaders were slain Whom shall I enumerate?
106.	Muhammad Dulie Shah Mír dá— Sir Khán dahún pahuncháya.	106.	Muhammad Dule Shah Mir— The Khán sent his head.
107.	Parahn seti is kágaz de, Pír Jání múnhún aláyá.	107.	As he read this paper, Pir Jáni spake as follows.
108.	Pálíus prit Farangi di, Sir bhár safar dá cháyá.	108.	He made promise to the Farangis, He willingly undertook the journey.
109.	Záidá kul phirá Khán, Jang tamám charáyá.	109.	He collected all his tribesmen, He sent them to the war.
110.	Pakre úth hazárán, Tán har mulkán tún pakráyá.	110.	Thousands of camels were seized, They were seized from every country.
111.	Bhún kakh sukká tandá Gádiwánán cháyá.	111.	Straw, grass and dried jowár Were taken up by the cart-drivers.
112.	Chhikíá giyá sabho dáná Kál rukh dikháyá.	112.	All the grain was impressed, Famine showed its face.
113.	Dánewále karde máná Chá Qádir agh láyá.	113.	The grain-dealers grew proud, The Almighty raised for them the price.
114.	Rozí bhí ghal desí úho Jain mihrún menh wasáyá.	114.	He who sends His rain on the earth, He will send food also.
115.	Jarnel kítá charh mel Singhán te, Ayá daur tikhái.	115.	The general marched on the Singhs And rushed fiercely against them.
116.	Akhyus turat maresán bilkul Gharián wich abhái.	116.	He said he would utterly destroy them, In the twinkling of an eye.
117.	Sámán kítus Multán utte Ae roz ziyádá láí.	117.	He made preparations against Multán, He came after much delay.
118.	Likhíá Sahib lokán de Wanj pauhncha já ba jái	118.	The letters of the Sáhibs Had reached every quarter.
119.	Súrsat dewán hákim, Aín mane har káí.	119.	The rulers provided supplies. Every one obeyed their orders.
120.	Faujan kul Panjábí dián Giyá pichhán hatái.	120.	All the troops of the Panjábis Were sent back.
121.	Aganbút wich daryáwán de, Giyá hikmat nál luráhí.	121.	Steamboats in the rivers, Did he bring with his skill.
122.	Wanj pauhte shahr de nere, Sakht kítus weráhí.	122.	He advanced near the city, And strictly surrounded it.
123.	Dharí lagí topán dí Dính rát na kadhan sáhí.	123.	There was a continual succession of guns, Day nor night had they rest.
124.	Gole pae pawan dugáre Wanjan ghubáre cháí.	124.	The shot fell in showers, On came the shrapnel.
125.	Gole bhanan khánqáhán kún Baní razá Iláhí.	125.	The shot struck the shrines of the saints, Such was the will of God.
126.	Hath hathyár talwár pharan Jo akhián dise latáí.	126.	Seizing their arms and swords, Their eyes grew red with anger.
127.	Qarábínián tamanche chhute Topán kamí na káí.	127.	Carbines and pistols were discharged There was no lack of guns.
128.	Barchhián te oh sángán márin Wich wadh kar sipáhí.	128.	They strike bayonets on spears Rushing in, the soldiers.

129.	Taqdír masít udáí dárún, Sillhán thián hawáí.	129.	Fate exploded the powder in the mosque The bricks flew in the air.
130.	Gore wí lar pawan zore Kítí waujan adáí.	130.	The white soldiers too fought valiantly, They paid their due to the full.
131.	Bhaj bhaj pawan agáhán te Jíwen kare patang tikháí.	131.	Fiercely did they rush on their opponents As swiftly as a kite mounts in the air.
132.	Luk chhap koí ná chhuttá, Jo munh Gorián de áí.	132.	None escaped by hiding, Who came before the white soldiers.
133.	Thaí kharáb khalqat Multání, Rullí já bajáí.	133.	The people of Multán were ruined, They wandered from place to place.
134.	Sabha sakht were Múle kún baithe Qile wich phaláí.	134.	Mula was strictly surrounded, And enclosed in his fort.
135.	Zaídá kul bhirá Mule kun baithe Sab sipáh sadáí,	135.	Mula sent for all his brothers, He called all his troops.
136.	Akhyus was kitum bahtere, Har gaz chali ná káí.	136.	He said: 'I have made much effort, But with no success.
137.	Saat harí de wele, Tán hún kaun kare hamráhí.	137.	In this hour of adversity, Who will now be my comrade?'
138.	Sáf jawáb sipáhían dittá Kalhe sir te áí.	138.	The soldiers refused absolutely Retribution came on his head alone.
139.	Tháí saláh kufar wichh íwen, Milan jihán nahín kaí.	139.	In their faithlessness this was the decision That there was naught save surrender
140.	Wanj khare Sahib de agún, Gal wich kapra páí.	140.	He went and stood before the Sáhib With his cloth round his neck.
141.	Bakhsh Alláh de lekhe mekon, Main hán pur tqsír gunáhi.	141.	'For the sake of God,' he said, 'Forgive: I have sinned and committed wrong.
142.	Eh mulk terá, eh mulk terá, Tun hain mulkán da sáín.	142.	This land is thine this land is thine, Thou art the Lord of all lands.
143.	Thí bandá jalesán terá, Je tún qaidún jind bacháí.	143.	I shall be thy slave, If thou save me from prison.'
144.	Jarnel te Lek Sáhib Phir gal íhá farmáí.	144.	The General and Lake Sahib* Then spake as follows:—
145.	Gídí thí kiyon milyon Múla, Karen há pher laráí.	145.	'Why hast thou surrendered, Múla? Thou shouldst have fought again'
146.	Akhyus nahi munásib mekon Sahib Lokán nál karan laráí.	146.	He said: 'It is not fitting for me To fight with the Sáhibs.
147.	Wazír Amír mere tan íwen Phúk limbí ag láí.	147.	It is my Wazirs and Amirs, Who have blown up this fire.'
148.	Jarnel kítá chá zail Múle kún, Gal íhá farmáí.	148.	The General imprisoned Múla, And spoke as follows:—
149.	Mál khazána daulat dunían Lekha de ithain.	149.	'Of thy goods and treasures, wealth and stores, Give herewith an account.'
150.	Akhyus main ham bichára Súba. Ahí Ranjít dí badsháhí.	150.	He said: 'I was only a poor Governor. The Kingdom was Ranjit's.
151.	Mulk áhá wich ijáre, Daulat sál basál puchái.	151.	The country was on lease. I paid the revenue year by year.
152.	Baí Daulat áí kam hathyarán de Mihanat ghinan sawáí.	152.	What else there was, on purchase of arms It was all spent in addition.
153.	Jo isbáb sipahián de Oh gai hin ithan lutáí.	153.	And the goods of the soldiers, These have here been plundered.
154.	Kaí rathe kaí bhune, Kaí ladhe nahín kitháín.	154.	Some have fled, some have escaped, Of others there is no trace.
155.	Kar áe han baháña rozída, Oh gai hin sir maráí.	155.	They came to earn a livelihood, And they have earned death.'
156.	Akhyus bahún gunáh hin sir tere, Múlá chhute kahín adáí.	156.	The General replied: 'Great is thine offence: Múla, how can'st thou be pardoned?
157.	Likh bhejiá hisse Landan, Walsí nál tikháí.	157.	I have written to London Answer will come spedily.'

* Lieutenant Edward Lake, afterwards Financial Commissioner, was then attached to, and practically in command of, the Bahawalpur Contingent.

158. Jo Kampaní da ásí likhíá, Nán jánesun til táín.	158. Whatever order the Company gives, I shall not know for a time.
159. Táng rakhe Multán dí Kampaní, Bhále nit idáhín.	159. The Company is in expectation of news from Multán It is always looking in this direction.
160. Jíndá án dikhálo Mulá, Ik wár itháín.	160. 'Bring Múla and show him to us alive, For once here.'
161. Dhotí ban Karár wanjáyá Ande Ahl Kitáb ní Sáín.	161. God has destroyed the dhoti-wearing Kirár. He has brought us People of the book.
162. Dekho khel ih dádhe Rab dí, Wasdián ujar gián ni jáín.	162. Behold this sport of the Almighty, How our populous cities are laid waste.
163. Hun aman zamána áyá he, Ral khedan shính te gáín.	163. Now hath come the age of peace, The lion and the cow play together.
164. Jo kuchh guzriá mulke andar, Sobha ákh sunaín.	164. Whatsoever happened in this land, That has SOBHA set forth.

APPENDIX II.

SPECIMENS OF SANADS.

THE following grants are printed here as specimens of the manner in which favourable rates of land revenue were fixed at various periods under native rule.

SANAD GRANTED BY MUHAMMAD DARA SHIKOH, DATED A.D. 1650.

Chún dar abádáni wa mámúri-i-pargana Alampur Panáh ihtimám-i-tamám ast, binábarán Mauza-i-Yúsufpur wa Gardezpur muta'lliqa marhúme maghfúre Shaikh Abdul Jalil az qarár-i-nakdí sar-i-biga do rupaye dar kharíf Kúel wa yak nim rupaye dar rabi' Bijel ba 'amal darámada wa az áyanda fasli kharíf Bijel siyádat wa nakábat-panah Shaikh Muhammad Rájú wa Sayad Muhammad wald Sayad Fath Muhammad muta'lliqe rá guzáshtand; chunánchi tamassuk ba muhr-i-khud nawishta dádand; wa chún ba qazáe Rabbání tughiání-i-áb zamín-i-muáziát mazkúr gharqába shuda wa muzáríán az bedilí aksar mutafarrika gashta wa ba'ze ki mánda ánár níz rúhe ba firár ma nihádand; binábar baqa-e-abádání wa kifáyat-i-sirkár wa tassalli r'iáya hawále khádiman-i-azmatí panáh iffat-dastgáh mahal-i-kalán koch Abdul Jalil bint Sháh Abdulfatteh Gardezi as ibtidáe fasl kharíf Bíjel hawála namúda shud; ki ba imdád-i-tukhm wa taqqávi mawáziat rá ábád sázad wa ba kirár-i-baháwali chahárani hissa yak hissa díwán wa se hissa r'iáyá wa chakdár muqarrar námúda shud, wa naishakar wa pamba sar-i-biga do rupaya wa mauza Jalípur waghaira aml-i-ma-múl ba hál dáshta shud; báyad ki ba khátir jama' dar taraddud wa abádáni saì' balígh namáyand ki fasl ba fasl wa sál ba sál muáfiq-i-kirárdád-i-sadr bázyáft namúda khwáhad shud, wa ba illat-i-kankút wa topa bakhshi wa hech waja' muzáhimat na khwáhad shud. muaáfiq hast búd ba amal khwáhad darámad—Insh'alla ta' alla az ín kaul wa qirár tafáwat wa tajáwaz na khwáhad shud. Tahrír ul tárikh 21 Shahre Muharram ul-harám San 30.

Translation.

As we are anxious for the extension of cultivation in the pargana of Alampur Panah and the villages of Yusafpur and Gardezpur, belonging to the late Sheikh Abdul Jalil were assessed at a cash rate of Rs. 2 per bigha in the kharíf of the Turkish year of the Sheep and Re. 1-8-0 per bigha in the rabi of the year of the Ape, and as the right reverend Sheikh Raju and Syad Muhammad, son of Syad Fateh Muhammad, have resigned the said lands with effect from the kharíf of the " year of the Ape " and have written a deed to this effect and signed it with their seal, and as God has pleased to flood the said villages with excessive inundations, and the tenants have mostly fled in despair, and they that remain are ready for flight; therefore, in order to establish cultivation and to benefit the Government and to comfort the subjects of Government, the said villages are entrusted to the honorable widow of the said Abdul Jalil with effect from the kharíf of the "year of the Ape" so that she may bring the said lands into cultivation by grants of seed and takávi; and a fourth share of the produce shall be due to Government and three shares to the cultivators and the chakdár: and sugarcane and cotton shall pay Rs. 2 per bigha, and in Jalilpur, &c., the present arrangements shall continue. The grantees should, therefore, exert themselves confidently in bringing the land under cultivation. Payment shall be made every harvest and every year according to the above agreement, and no kind of exaction shall be made in the form of appraisement, or the patwárí's " topa " or any other cess: payment shall be according to the actuals. Please God there shall be no deviation of any kind from the above deed and agreement. Written on the 21st Moharram in the 30th year of the reign [of Shah Jahán].

PATTA GRANTED BY DIWAN CHAND (A KARDAR OF THE NAWAB OF BAHAWALPUR) IN A.D. 1816.

Chún darbáb mazíd wa afzúní taraddud ta'alluqát muta'llaqa Khálsa Lálwáh ihtimám tamán ast, darin-waqt Rai Mul Chand Monghia wa Isra Mal Gajwání darkhwást namúdand ki agar patta yak dahna cháh ba sígha istamrár dar zamín banjar ghairábád wáqi'a Kot Hájí muta'lliqa Nála Baháwalwáh az Sirkár daulat-madár marhamat shawad, mashár-un-ileh ba kharch mubligh az khud yak dahne cháh dar zamín i mazkúr nau ihdás kunánída ábádí i án ba amal árad; liháza hasb ul hukm hazúr álá wa afzúní mahsul sarkar i álá wa rafáhíyat ríáya madd i nazar dáshta min ibtidái fasl-i-rabi Sijkánel sál 1223 fasli chunán qirár yáft ki mubligh 14 rupaye istamrár sál tamám cháh mazkúr chunánchi 9 rupaye dar fasl-i-rabi wa 5 rupaye dar fasl-i-kharíf bábat pamba dánadár be sharat ábádí cháhí wa búdand 25 bígha mazru'át dar fasli rabi wa 5 bigha dar fasl i kharíf bábat pamba dánadár dar Sirkár i álá báz yaft khwáhad shud. Agar mazrú'át cháh mazkúr ziáda az sharah marqúm ul sadar az rúe zabtí baráyad, waja taufir i án mújib sharah ta'alluqa nála Sirdárwáh dar Sirkár i álá bazyáft khwáhad shud. Wa ma'malat jawárí waghaira har ijnás sailába wa jhalár dar zamín ahta cháh mazkúr ábád shawad sailába ba qirár 5 hissa wa jhalár ba qirár shasham hissa, ba'd waza' rahkám nisfí kasúr dar iwaz taraddudí ba ma' abwab......kharch wazani ba mashár-un-ileh mujawwaz; nisfi kasúr wa mahsúl ba ma' abwáb kharch waghaira dafa'at mújib shara bar bast ta'alluka mazkúr dar sirkar i ála bazyáft khwáhad shud. Bayad ki mashárin-ileh ba khátir jama' ábádí i cháh ba' amal árad. Inshá'alla ta'alla az in qaul wa iqrár tafáwaz zarra na khwáhad yáft. Tahrir ba tárikh ghurra máh i Shábáan, 1231 Hijri.

Translation.

With a view to the extension of cultivation in the territories of Lálwáh, and whereas at this time Rai Mul Chand, Monghia, and Amra Mal, Gajwáni, represent that, if a patta be granted to them by Government for one well in perpetuity in the uncultivated land of Kot Haji appertaining to the Bahawalwah Canal they will at their own expense construct and bring into use a well in the said land; therefore, in accordance with superior orders, and in view of the increase of the Government revenue and the comfort of the lieges, it is hereby determined, with effect from the rabi of the year of the Mouse, *i.e.*, the Fasli year 1223, that there shall be paid in perpetuity to Government a sum of Rs. 14 per annum,—Rs. 9 in the rabi and Rs. 5 in the kharíf (for cotton)—on condition of the cultivation being by well alone and of there being 25 bighas of cultivation in the rabi and 5 bighas of cotton in the kharíf. If the cultivation of the said well exceeds by measurement at any time the abovementioned limits, the excess portion shall pay to Government at the rates [of batai] fixed for the Sirdarwáh territory. And such jowar, etc., as may be cultivated on the said well by flow or lift from the canal shall pay to Government at the rate of one-fifth for flow and one-sixth for lift. After deducting the tenant's share, half kasúr shall be taken by the lessee in return for his expenses on cultivation, together with the cesses and deductions on crops other than grain crops The other half of the kasúr and the owner's share shall go to Government, together with cesses, deductions, dues, etc., according to the established rate prevailing in the said territories. Let the lessees, therefore, set themselves confidently to bring the well into use; and please God there shall be no deviation whatever from the terms of this deed and promise. Dated the 1st of Shaban, A.H. 1231 (A.D. 1816).

PATTA GRANTED BY DIWAN MULRAJ (A.D. 1846).

Chún tawajjuh khátir sirkár-i-álá baráhi mazíd ábádí ta'alluqa Shujá'ábad mutasarraf shud darín-wila Chaudhri Mohan Lal ámada záhir karda ki qitta zamín mutasil Chah Khandawala wáqia' mauza Bangála wírán wa banjar mutliq uftáda; agar patta istamrári ba sígha ihsán az sarkár marahmat shawad ánjá dar zamín mazkúr cháh nau ihdás karda ábád tawánam sákht. Chún dar mazíd ábádí intifá sirkár

ast nazar barán dáshta mubligh 12 rupaye sál tamám siwái nílsiyáh wa naishakar waghaira istamrár mújib zail jáiz karda; agar árázi bar cháh mazkúr siwái ziraiat gandam wa jawár bájrí waghaíra raqba qirárí ziráiat níl siyáh wa naíshakar kásht kunad, bháwali i án ba qirár haftam hissa, kharch ba shará mauza wa ghalla shálí ba qirár shasham hissa mujawwaz karda; báyad ki árázi ba khátir jama' cháh nau ihdás karda ábádi dar pesh numáyad; ba mújib hamín nawishta ba 'amal khwáhad ámad; wa chhera ihdásí ba mújib nau ábádán muqarrar shud, chhera sál awwal muáf, áyanda ním chhera muqarrar namúda shud.

Istamrár Rs. 12 { Dar rabí' Rs. 7, asl Rs. 6, siwá Re. 1.
Dar kharíf Rs. 5, asl Rs. 4. siwá Re. 1.

Rakba qarár { Dar rabí' 25 bigha
Dar kharíf—az ghalgi 13 bigha; az kásht vanwár 7 bigha muáf

Kásht sabzí tarkárí ba qarár panjam hissa bilá kharch.

Tahrir 4 Máh Jeth, Sambat 1902.

Translation.

Whereas the Government is anxious for the increase of cultivation in the taluka of Shujábád and whereas Chaudhri Mohan Lal has come and declared that a certain plot of land near the Khándawala well in Mauza Bangála is deserted and entirely uncultivated, and that, if a fixed lease were granted by the Government on favorable terms, he would be able to bring the land into cultivation by building a new well therein, and as the extension of cultivation is the profit of Government, in consideration thereof a fixed rent of Rs. 12 per annum, exclusive of indigo and sugar, is hereby sanctioned; and it is hereby laid down that if the lessee, in addition to the cultivation of wheat, jowar, bajra, etc., shall in the area covered by the lease, cultivate indigo and sugar, he shall pay batái thereon at the rate of one-seventh; and the deductions for cultivation expenses shall be at the ordinary village rate; and rice will be divided at the rate of one-sixth. The lessee should start fearlessly on the cultivation of the land by constructing the well, and this present lease shall come into operation. The scale of forced labour for canals is fixed at the rate adopted for new cultivation, *i.e.*, the first year *nil*, and afterwards half rates.

Fixed payments Rs. 12 per annum. { Rabi Rs. 7, revenue Rs. 6, cesses Re. 1.
Kharíf Rs. 5, revenue Rs. 4, cesses Re. 1.

Area covered by the lease { In the rabi' 25 bighas.
In the kharíf 13 bighas of grain crops, 7 bighas of cotton.

Vegetables to pay one-fifth batái after deducting expenses.

Written on the 4th Jeth, Sambat 1902.

APPENDIX III.

Origin of village names.

Multán.	Shujábád.	Lodhrán.	Kabírwala.	Mailsi.
		I.—Villages named after persons.		
		A—After the founder or near relation.		
Naurangábád. Basti Ratta. Zabdipur. Bangaiwála. Khánpur. Rájápur. Mattital. Ináyatpur. Chubapur. Jhok Lachmi Narayan. Jahángírábád. Babá walpur-Sukha (founder and son).	Sherpur. Todarpur. Mahra. Wáhi Bakhar. Wáhi Sawáya. Kesarpur. Shujátpur. Shujábád. (Nawab Shuja Khan). Nasirpur. Panjáni. Mohanpur.	Adamwáhan. Wahi Diwán Wáli. Lahori. Malikpur. Bandabpur. Jalálábád. Amrok. Ainwáhan. Jas. Rukupur. Bábúpur. Jalilpur. Mánjha Kotla. Hamelwála. Golu. Gulpur. Lál Kamál. Muhammad Sai. Gogran. Gulhar. Channu Shahbáz (two persons).	Muhammadpur. Miánpur. Serái Sidhu. Khara Shahámad. (Jangal of Shahámad). Gagra Kalandar-Jahánián. Gagra—river bend.) Munganwála.	Handola. Sharifa. Chatáni. Fattehpur. Darerwáhan. Balandpur. Gaubri. Shahjahán. Luddan. Mailsi. Todar. Kambar. Mamdi. Fadda. Mungandeh. Chajjudeh. Lálu. Chak. Bassi.
		B—After a tenant, servant or agent.		
Nandla. Hamidpur. Tarbiatpur. Sajriwahan.	Udowahi. Kotli Chakar.	Gudpur Wahi Ratnawali.	Rotla. Rukanwala. Salarwahan. Baqirpur. Kandewahi.	Kaura. Budhu. Rukanpur.
		C.—After a local ruler official or jagirdar.		
Akbarpur. Alamgir. Muzaffarábád.	Dairápur. Ghházipur. Sikandarábád. Agharkhani. Garezpur (Jágírdár).	Babáwalgarh. Amirpur.	Akil. Sardárpur. Saifpur. Mankot.	Shergarh. Khurrampur. Kutabpur. Karampur. Alampur. Murádpur. Ghauspur.

<table>
<tr><th>Multán.</th><th>Shujábád.</th><th>Lodhrán.</th><th>Kabírwála.</th><th>Mailsi.</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="5">D.—After holy persons and saints.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Baháwali.
Khera.
Pir Tannun.
Mahdipur.
Sher Shah.
Makhdum Rashid.
Pir Mahbub.
Habiba Syal (Saint's and founder's names.)</td><td>Alipur.
Amánullápur.
Shah Musa.
Jalálpur.
Abu Said.
Kotla Shah.
Rasul.
Ghauspur.
Mir Hussain.
Miánpur.
Belá i wála (spiritual teachers).</td><td>Muhammadpur.
Shabu Tahir.</td><td>Kabirwála.
Mamdal.
Shah Dányál.
Abdul Hakim.
Jodhpur.
Mái Sapuran.
Hosi.
Sabz Gidar (Gidar—tribe Sabz-Muhammad Sabz a saint).</td><td>Baháwalwáb.
Zarin.
Diwan.
Chawali.
Mashaikh.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="5">E.—Miscellaneous.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Taraf Mubárik.
Taraf Ismáil.
Taraf Sidhu Hissam (Lambardár).
Rui-hatti.
Matti-hatti.
Mungi-hatti.
Mari Sital.</td><td>Wahi Raja Ram (purchaser).</td><td>Basti Sáwan.
Hajráuwáli (lambardars).</td><td>Salih Shah.
Mansur Mirali (lambardárs).</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="5">II.—Tribal names of original owners or tenants.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="5">A.—Single tribe.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Khokhar.
Gagra.
Lar.
Labar.
Dahar.
Traggar.
Dumra
Khaggewála.
Bosan
Langriál.
Thatta.
Kahawaran.
Kotla Maharán.
Chak Mahni
Miani Nisfi. (Miani-tribe; Nisfi from nisf and added when half the village was assigned).
Binda Sandila.
Jhok Wains.
Nun Adhvana. (Adhvana—land between two branches of a river).</td><td>Bhor.
Motha.
Gaj.
Bamb.
Sanji.
Kanun.
Sandila.
Wains.
Khaki.
Buch.
Chak.
Jhammat.
Wahi.
Khor.</td><td>Lodhran.
Wahi Horian Wali.
Muhan Hans.
Bash Mochián-walli.
Panwáran.
Samra
Kalluwalla
Kotli Jhandiran
Bappar.
Rawani.
Mahar.
Kamboh.
Saria.
Arya.
Desi.
Pugalwári.
Koreshiwála.
Mitru.
Basti.
Ahir.
Gambel.
Naich.
Jágir Hora.
Bhuteji (Bhuttas).
Lal Wagnan (Waggas).
Dora Arain.</td><td>Kot Bhutta.
Bela Panjuána
Dhillun.
Batian.
Sandiánwála.
Gadari
Solji.
Manwala.
Kholsharan.
Mani Syal.
Kund Malkáni.
Kukarhatta (Kukar—tribe of Hindu shopkeepers).</td><td>Sahuka.
Bhatti.
Saldera.
Nun.
Mitti
Khoran.
Rámola.
Puna.
Asrani.
Dal.
Ojhla.
Mahni.
Makkal.
Gujar.
Othi.
Saudal.
Mandan.
Ghallu.
Arápur.
Arawáhan.
Hardogamb.
Kotli
Mahtam.</td></tr>
</table>

Multán.	Shujábad.	Lodhrán.	Kabírwála.	Mailsi.
B.—*Two tribes.*				
Sayar Kharak. Dauréna Langana.	Miri Malla.	Jammu Jat. Daphna ghara.		Ghulam Sandhi. Rath Hammar.
III.—Combination of personal and tribal names.				
Sultánpuir. Hammar. Fattu-hal-pur. Salih Mai. Kammun Khor. Alamdi Sura.	Wachha Sandila. Mochi Pannuán. Shádi Kachhala. Sheikhpur Shajra.	Ismail Jhandir. Ali Asar. Miánpur Mahtam. Tahir Bhutta. Lal Bhagali. Jassa Joya. Gahi Mammar.	Khairdin Hamiána. Murad Mán. Nek Machia. Chakra Bab. Sahib Langra. Akla Changar.	Rafik Tajwána. Ramzán. Hinjan. Jindu Joya. Ziadat Pathán. Lál Saggu. Mithu Asar. Aziz Kaum. Ghadi Biloch. Halim Khichi. Godar Sandhi. Rath Sai. Gamb Bada. Kaura Kamdana. Kot Malik. Chak Shahána (courtesy titles for a Joya and Syad respect).

APPENDIX IV.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Multán Tahsíl.

Basti Nau = a village swept away by the river and then resettled.

Shakar Bela = so called because of the sugarcane grown there.

Nilkot = called because of the indigo crops.

Bohar = from a bohar tree planted by Bába Faríd.

Kachhkot = Mud fort.

Kothewálá = from a faqir's house.

Basantkot = a fort founded on Basant Panchmi.

Shahkot or Sakot = site of three (seh) old forts or a fort with three wells.

Panjkua = either a place of five wells, or one distant five kos from Multán.

Jaliwáhan = after local floods of water.

Tattar = barren land.

Ráj-ghát = the royal ferry.

Tindni = humble.

Hamrot = said to be 'ham-rohti' a grant made for subsistence.

Rangilpur = the splendid village.

Githbarábar = a narrow village almost covered by the span ('gith') of a hand.

Muhammadpur Ghota = the village is shut in by date trees and is therefore hot (ghut).

Wan Chatta = called after a 'wan' or 'báoli' (well with steps).

Billiwalla = Records the death of a traveller's cat that fell down a well.

Tahsíl Shujábád.

Bhana = a cattle or sheep pen.

Jhangi = a clump of trees.

Narul = a reedy tract.

Kandar = a swamp of bulrushes.

Vanoi = a clump of *van* trees.

Khára = bitter well water.

Siri = a tract of sailáb.

Rappri = hard soil.

Somán = subject to percolation from the river.

Botowahi = a water-course in the riverain.

Jangwáli = a site of constant quarrels (jang).

Fattehbela = Diwán Sáwan Mal is said to have conquered some robbers here.

Langar = revenue assigned in charity for the support of the servants of the Diwáns of Jalálpur.

Khánbela = a riverain game preserve of the Kháns of Baháwalpur.

Kotlī Adīl = a fort built by Adil Khan.

Mari Nún = house of the Núns.

Halál Waja = called after a village fund used to dig a canal cut.

Dhundhun = smoke—smoke—an exclamation of a previous ruler on seeing the village and perhaps refers to the river mist.

Lodhrán Tahsíl.

Thali = sandy ground.

Lai-wahan = place of the small tamarisk.

Doratta = a double Persian well.

Pipli, Khajjiwála, Dera Jhand, Bohar, Bohar Langah } = after trees.

Kathgarh = wooden stronghold.

Lal Sadda = reed hut, of one sadda.

Gidran = place of jackals.

Sherghuri = tiger's den—so named after the tigers that once lived in the adjacent jungle.

Dhanot = Dana-ot or the refuge from robbers founded by Dána.

Chorwah = a dry canal bed used by robbers.

Nángni = after a winding or snake-like water-course.

Kabírwála Tahsíl.

Kaurewála = after a bitter well.

Ukanwála = after grove of *ukan* trees.

Chhappránwála = after the reed huts that once composed the village.

Chopratta-char-harta = four adjacent wells.

Ath-muddi = eight roots (of a famous bohar tree).

Jhagga = low-lying tract.

Kuranga = may refer to a deformed tree (ku-ranga) or to the loss of a flock of sheep from a severe hailstorm (kurang).

Khatti Chur = said to be a corruption of kheti-zor.

Ghasit-wahan = so called from the rapid flow of its original watercourse which dragged everything before it.

Mailsi Tahsíl.

Aroti = a place of reed huts.

Bhagsar = place of cattle and reeds.

Kharala = where the khar or sajji plant grows.

Tel Chiragh = so called because the revenue was muaf to a shrine.

Lundi Garnaj = the thieving place of the Garnaj tribe.

Shitáb-garh = after a fort built very quickly in the time of Diwán Sáwan Mal.

Zorkot = after a fort built by Ashraf khan, son of Karam Khan, Daudputra against his father's orders.

36 C of D—350—1-7-26—SGPP Lahore.